

THE LIFE OF

**JOHN
TENGO
JABAVU.**

A Great Bantu Patriot.

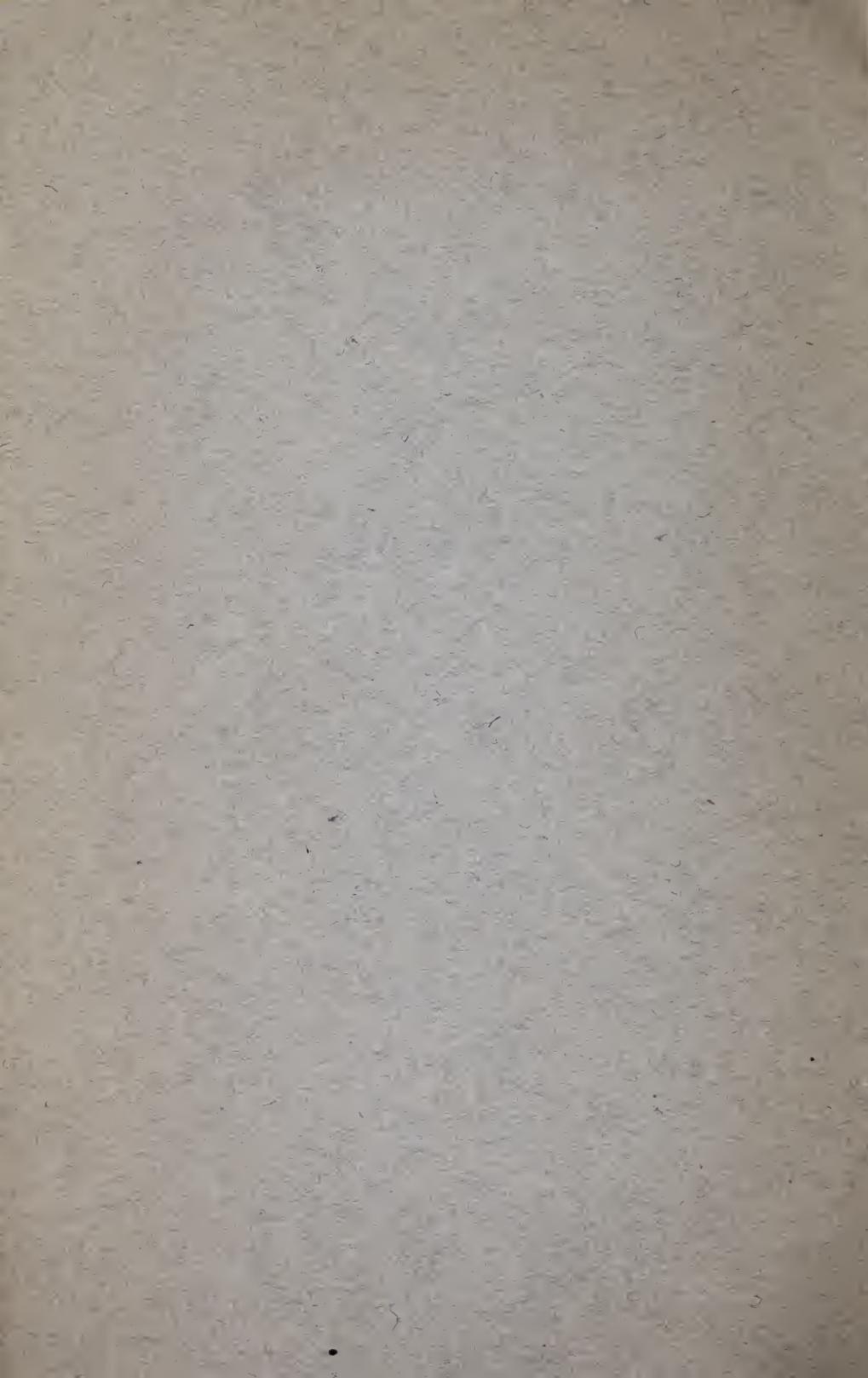
BY

D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A. (Lond.)



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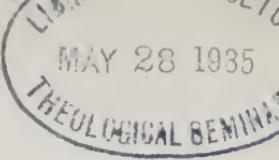


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J. T. JABAVU, 1896.



THE LIFE OF

JOHN TENGO JABAVU,

EDITOR OF

IMVO ZABANTSUNDU,

1884-1921.

by

D. D. T. JABAVU, B.A. (Lond.)

South African Native College,

Fort Hare, Alice, C.P.

PRINTED BY THE
LOVEDALE INSTITUTION PRESS.

TO

*Percy Allport Molteno, Esq., M.P.
(of London.)*

*As a token of thanks for deeds
of true friendship to the hero of
this work, this book is humbly
dedicated.*

FOREWORD.



"A man Cæsar is born, and for ages after we have a Roman Empire..... An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man; . . . and all history resolves itself very easily into the biography of a few stout and earnest persons," so said Emerson when he contemplated the great builders of civilisation. In all probability the future African historian will class John Tengo Jabavu as the great celebrity of his generation who through sheer industry, rising from most obscure origin to the pinnacles of fame, raised the Bantu race a stage upward by virtue of his political and educational achievement.

Many of the present generation in South Africa, whilst they realise, in a way, that Jabavu was a dominating historical figure during the eighties and nineties, nevertheless know very little of the actual services he patriotically rendered to his country. It is for the information of such that we have essayed the task of compiling this book, as well as to preserve for Bantu posterity the memory of a life that will assuredly remain immortal as an example worthy of imitation and emulation.

As his most conspicuous political deeds were performed between 1880 and 1900, the author has worked under serious difficulties to obtain and collate the facts because, for obvious reasons, he was not in a position to appreciate the doings of his hero. At the

same time those who know best have either died or have not been able to supply the necessary material in any cogent form. Delay would have made the records still more fragmentary specially because all the files of "IMVO ZABANTSUNDU" (1884-1908) have, by some unfortunate accident, been destroyed, after being systematically bound by the late editor. Only the volume of 1887 has been discovered in his study; and it is evident that he had taken this out some years ago for making certain references, thus unintentionally saving it from the fate of the other volumes.

In view of this we are profoundly thankful for the information supplied to us by many friends, principally Chief S. Kama, Messrs S. Sopela, R. W. Rose-Innes, M. Pelem, R. T. Kawa, S. Govo, W. Gcule, Mrs. J. K. Bokwe (for loans of some photographs) and Dr. J. Henderson M.A. of Lovedale for "Christian Express" files and other literature.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude also to Rev. H. B. Coventry B.D. (Lond.) of Lovedale, for valuable suggestions and assistance in the perusal of the proofs, as well as to the printer, Mr. Corfield, for help given in many ways.

All information with regard to omissions and commissions will be gratefully received by the author, and acknowledged and incorporated in a future edition of the work.

D.D.T.J.

July 1922.

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JOHN TENGO JABAVU.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE AND EARLIEST DAYS (1859-1877).

:o:

Parentage.—In the little village of Tyatyora in the Wesleyan Methodist Mission School of Healdtown, about nine miles from Fort Beaufort, there lived about 1850 a tall jet black African called Ntwanambi who, with his wife Mary, was a convert regularly attending the services conducted by a Quaker minister Rev. H. Impey. This man belonged to the Kuze clan of the Ama-Zizi tribe that formed the Intlangwini section settled to this day near Riverside on the Umzimkulu River bordering Natal. He claimed to belong to chief Msingapantsi of the house of Lusibalukulu among the Aba-Mbo or Fingoes, (a migratory people of Zulu extraction), with the clan appellation of Jili of the "Ama-Singawoti," the "Masengwas," the "Qabububendes," forbidding but favourite names of African ancestry. His father says that their true name "Citywa" had been lost because "Jabavu," (which signifies "battle champion,") was an acquired war-cognomen given to his progenitor on account of his fighting prowess.

Ntwanambi, a man with a majestic forehead, large ears, flashing eyes, big hands and feet, was known as a giant pedestrian, who frequently tramped the whole Eastern province, engaged off and on as a road and mason labourer in Grahamstown, whence he often visited Healdtown at week ends, accomplishing the double journey on foot! In church he was an eccentric precentor and extravagant prayer-leader. His wife Mary Mpinda, a handsome little woman, was an indefatigable Christian worker, a vigilant disciplinarian over her children, an enthusiast for education in those "dark ages," a singer and an assiduous and determined soul in all her affairs.

Their first son John Ntengo was born on the 11th January, 1859 and Mary, in her needy and struggling circumstances, resolved to utilize her last ounce of strength in getting Ntengo educated. She put together her shillings and pennies gained by working as a washerwoman at Fort Beaufort and by selling tindishes of hard earned grain at the local grocer's store. She was a woman who believed in hard work and earnest prayer, never sparing the rod, and with a keen sense of the responsibility of parenthood, her children being raised under strictest moral conditions. All her surviving children, three daughters and two sons (one of whom is the well known Wesleyan minister Rev. Jonathan James Jabavu), abundantly testify to the rigid discipline of this mother of Africa.

Boyhood.—At the age of ten, John Ntengo, according to Native tradition, had to herd cattle, discharging this monotonous and often demoralising occupation among the thickly wooded hills of that neighbourhood which bear the ominous name of "Izigigaba" (=carcass mounds). His entire apparel then was a single shirt!

In the course of time it was agreed by his austere parents that the boy should attend the elementary school; but on the strict understanding that after school he was to attend the cattle, which he did, with his meagre lunch in hand, and spent the remainder of the day there. At school, when others took down notes for homework, he sat, a pathetic figure writing nothing but trusting to his memory, because in his father's hut there were no such conveniences as a table and a lamp by which he could do home-lessons at night. This handicap was not an unmixed evil for it sharpened his wits and developed his art of memorising, a trait which proved valuable to him in later life. Success in classes earned him a red jacket from an uncle, a jacket by which he is vividly remembered by many of those who knew him.

The importance of an inspiring schoolmaster can hardly be more effectively illustrated than by the case of the three Healdtown teachers of that time (1874): Messrs George Baker, W. H. Graham, M.A., and Richard Kawa who produced, among the subsequently conspicuous contemporaries of our hero, men like Messrs Meshach Pelem, S. Sopela, Rev. Jacob Monyatsi, Rev. Samuel Mvambo, Rev. W. Matta Dwane, Rev. Ebenezer Magaba and many others among whom there was none of the racial discrimination that in following generations proved such a disintegrating and baneful curse among our people. To the credit of these men, be it said, they never allowed that spirit to take possession of them, greatly tempted as they were by those who traded on it. Often have they gleefully recounted happy anecdotes of the precocious buffoonery in class on the part of young Tengo (as he afterwards spelt his name). That was the pre-Muir heyday of Sir Langham Dale when there were no vicious restrictions against Native Elementary Education such as obtain to-day. Mr. Baker instituted open

quarterly competitions in Literature and Mathematics which enabled the impecunious but ambitious Tengo to complete the courses of two or three classes by overtime toil, while his rivals rested on their oars. In Literature he met more than his match in Meshach Pelem, and in Frans Nomntleke in Mathematics. But by dint of industrious after-school application to studies, he ultimately made his mark and outshone them all in educational attainment. In his school days he was popular for his many but innocent practical jokes in and out of class, at the expense of his fellow students and teachers, and for his irrepressible humour and constant pleasantry which to-day would have merited dismissal in many of our institutions. He was lucky to be under the tutelage of a boarding master of the calibre of Rev. H. S. Barton who distinguished between the natural hilarious pranks of a boy and real mischievous insubordination.

On one occasion the Institute Committee were actually called together for the purpose of having this troublesome Tengo Jabavu expelled. But Barton, with the keen insight into human nature that he had, defended him saying, "No, gentlemen; remember that this boy evinces an active brain. After all, the boy is father of the man; by dismissing him we shall be losers; let us persevere with him for in all his gambols there is no evil."

His fellow scholars liked him best in the afternoon manual labour class working in the Fruit Garden. The authorities made the boys work season after season, without giving the labourers even a taste of the fruit they produced. Tengo and Samuel Mvambo invented catchwords like "Yatsh' ipani," "Kendle," "Quotation," by which they fore-warned their comrades of the approach of their time-keeping supervisor, while they pocketed the tempting luscious fruit, from which

booty the watchdogs were duly remunerated after work. When this ruse was discovered and Tengo "carpeted" for it, he made a characteristic reply quoted from Scripture, "who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof?" the appositeness of which not only exculpated him but drew forth the admiration of his master who consequently arranged for definite occasions, when the boys in the dining hall should be served with part of the produce they raised by cultivating the orchard.

From the earliest he had a predilection for the telling idioms, polysyllabic words and high sounding phrases of the English and Xosa languages which he sometimes utilised for the entertainment of his friends. For example, a certain effusive Theological candidate living in Tyatyora habitually enquired after his welfare in English, and one day in the presence of a crowd of his friends Tengo replied "I am still in good salubrity, although there are symptoms which symbolize morbosity"—to the huge merriment of the listeners!

It is very regrettable that the files of the "Isigidimi sama-Xosa" 1881-1883, and "Imvo Zabantsundu" 1884-1914 have been somehow destroyed, and that we are therefore unable to enrich this section by direct quotations from them; for his favourite sayings and quips in both English and Xosa were strewn like gems throughout his journalistic writings. Eventually by 1875 he had gained the Government Teachers' Certificate of Competency and Honours, to sit for which his father sold, in pathetic sacrifice, "Falteyn" one of his two indispensable ploughing oxen. This sacrifice was however more than made good by Tengo's support of his parents to their dying day.

TEACHING AT SOMERSET EAST (1877-1881).

Flushed with success at Healdtown he left the village of his origin in 1876 to become a teacher at Somerset East. Although he was only seventeen he already exhibited all the qualities that constituted the basis of his later reputation : a blameless moral character, a zeal for education, religious fervour, together with an inclination towards the printing trade, a penchant for writing to the press, and enthusiasm for politics. The neighbourhood where he lived was notorious for moral degradation; and temptation faced him wherever he turned. Saturday was the worst day, when drunkenness and suggestive concertina street dancing filled the air with their din, even around the doors of his lodgings, wherein he locked himself in profound study, while outside resounded the bewitching Hottentot rondo "Has-kook" jig :—

"Somerset leker,

"Somerset leker-kos."

He lived here for five years and maintained a spotless record for moral character, a fact reflecting credit on the training of his mother.

In his work he proved himself a born teacher inspiring his children with an insatiable thirst for knowledge, remaining a hard working student himself, keeping on friendly terms with the parents of his pupils and engaging in all the public activities in the village that aimed at social improvement. The older coloured residents of the district retain, to this day, the most pleasant memories of this ideal teacher of theirs.

In church he took an active part, being registered as a local preacher with the Wesleyan Methodists and proving a real acquisition to the organisation.

Anxious to learn the Printing Trade he apprenticed himself to the local newspaper office, beginning work,

as a "Printer's Devil," at four o'clock in the morning and continuing until breakfast time, when he returned home to wash himself and get ready for school. After school he worked at private studies under the guidance and tuition of Professor Kyd of Gill College. His favourite subjects were Greek and Latin, in which he made rapid progress. Newspapers, as seen in the Exchange Copies at his printing office, proved an irresistible attraction, especially the "Cape Argus" to which he became a regular local correspondent, writing under a Nom-de-plume. At this time he developed a personal friendship with the "Argus" editor, Mr. Saul Solomon, the most magnanimous Prime Minister the Cape Colony has ever had, in whose home at Cape Town he was in later days frequently entertained. For one of his contributions to the "Argus" about this time some enemies endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to trump up a libel case against him; but timely advice from a friend living at Domira, Lovedale, showed him the way to defeat and dispose of the charge. These "Argus" letters became quite a feature of that paper to those who happened to be in the secret.

Our young teacher did much travelling on horseback during holidays, as in those days there was no railway connection between Somerset, Cookhouse, Grahamstown, Port Elizabeth and King Williamstown. When the line from Port Elizabeth up country was under construction, his friend Paul Xiniwe happened to be a Labour-Gang Manager on the line and the two met on frequent occasions, finally attracting each other to "King" in 1887.

SOJOURN AT LOVEDALE. (1881-1883.)

Dr. James Stewart, Principal of Lovedale, induced Tengo to leave Somerset East and join the Lovedale Staff, as Editor of "Isigidimi sama Xosa" ("the Xosa

Express,") in succession to Rev. Elijah Makiwane, on a contract for three years. The invitation was a fortunate event in the prospects of our hero, as well as a distinct landmark in his career.

It offered him his long desired opportunity to pursue the course of a sound education under favourable and ideal conditions; his career as printer and editor also was definitely fixed. While carrying on his profession he prosecuted his studies privately, with the assistance of men like Mr. Andrew Smith M.A., in the company of other earnest students. In fact for such an enthusiast in education this was a veritable University College. Those who knew Jabavu from his young days will agree that he was immensely benefitted by the subtle glamour of the Lovedale environment of the early eighties. While he taught a class or two in elementary Latin and Xosa, he threw himself with great zest into his preparation for the Matriculation examination which he passed in 1883, along with Mr. Percy Frames (now Director of De Beers Kimberley,) being the second Native to compass this distinction in South Africa next to Simon P. Sihlali (who died a few years ago as Congregational Minister, Engcobo). Among his confreres then were such distinguished men as Mr. W. G. Bennie B.A. (now Chief Inspector of Native Education, C. P.) Rev. B. J. Ross M.A., Mr. James Gray M.A., Dr. W. B. Rubusana, Mr. Edward Dower, Rev. J. Knox Bokwe, Mr. T. Grimmer, Mr. S. Sopela, Mr. E. Hughes, Mr. Samuel Mzimba, and many others who hold high positions in South African affairs.

He was a brilliant leader in the debates of the Literary Society, for which he saturated himself with the wisdom of the great books in the Lovedale library, making himself a powerful dialectical force. His activities in this connection include the following items

(taken from the Lovedale Calendar):—

- 1 A debate with Mr. Samuel Mzimba on "Should Native Marriages be recognised before the law?" (18th November 1881.)
- 2 An essay on "The Lack of Fixity and Aim in the Life of Educated Native Young Men" (10th February 1882;)
- 3 Debate: "Is it useful at the present time to carry on a Native Press?"—Affirmative, J. Knox Bokwe, Negative, J. T. Jabavu (3rd March 1882;)
- 4 Lecture: "A Peep into the Educational History of South Africa (11th November 1882.)
- 5 Lecture on "J. W. Leonard, Q.C., LL.B." (11th August 1882)
- 6 Essay "A Trip to Cape Town" (29th September 1883.)
- 7 Lecture: "The Educational History of the Cape" (18th January 1884.)

As he often remarked to the present writer, those were the happiest days of his life. For he was a vigorous youth placed by the Grace of God in congenial surroundings, the future holding out before him an infinite vista of possibilities. Nothing afforded him greater delight than the perusal of parliamentary debates in the Cape Times; for he revelled in the forensic performances of Saul Solomon and J. X. Merriman in their zenith, this giving him an exalted vision of politics. In fact he began writing and travelling on political missions, especially to his home, Healdtown, where he exposed the anti-Native utterances in Parliament of the very members sent thither amidst election acclamations by unsuspecting Native voters. This activity did not quite suit some who held different political views, and it became advisable for him to sever his connection with Lovedale at the end of his contract in 1884. About this time

also he decided to settle down in matrimonial life. His own choice, however, did not please his mother who finally selected for him a local Healdtown girl then in her teens, Elda Sakuba. By some happy chance this damsel visited Lovedale as member of a Healdtown mixed choir (specially trained by Mr. Baker) that took Lovedale by storm with its excellent singing, amongst the Basses being the celebrated Zulu Profundo Basso, Saul Msane, whose daughter Elda (named after this very Elda Sakuba) is probably the greatest prima donna of the *Bantu* race. [Her wonderful register and voice modulation created a sensation attracting Europeans and Natives alike whenever she sang solos at Lovedale, at Johannesburg and in the Native Wesleyan Church, Pietermaritzburg.] One of the never-to-be-forgotten pieces admirably rendered by this Healdtown choir was the well known glee "A Life on the Ocean Wave." The singing of Elda made a deep impression on the heart of Tengo Jabavu leading to a true-love courtship that terminated in a happy marriage early in 1885.

The parentage of Elda is interesting: Her father was Rev. James B. Sakuba (1833-1893) one of the earliest Weslyan Native preachers, whose life, like that of Rev. Johannes Mahonga, Rev. J. Mjila, Rev. Charles Pamla, and others of the same generation, constitutes a landmark in Native ministerial records of saintly lives. He was an industrious agriculturist and self-denying Christian worker. His wife, who is now a nonagenarian in Bull Hoek, Queenstown, was Mityi Ndwandwa, sister to the Butterworth Grand Old Man, Theodore Ndwandwa. This old dame is remembered as a handsome light-hued matron of an exemplary, and energetic Christian life. Both parents of Elda were musical people.



AT SOMERSET EAST, 1877.

John Tengo Jabavu, now looking forward to settling down in life, bought a large farm in Wooldridge, Peddie for £125, which changed hands thirty-two years later for £850. By 1884 he had to make his decision as to his future career. His term at Lovedale was over. He had to choose between continuing at Lovedale and suppressing his political views and ambitions; or returning to the teaching profession, which could hardly grant him wide enough scope for his versatile powers; or launching out on his own account on the uncertain career of an independent Native Journalist.

To continue in Lovedale or to return to teaching was clearly out of the question. His personal friends negatived that course. For example, Mr. Meshach Pelem wrote him insisting that for a person of his stamp to remain in the restricted sphere of editor of the "Isigidimi," limited in free action and free speech, was to bury himself alive; that the time was ripe for the establishment of a journal in English and Xosa, to give untrammeled expression to the feelings of the Native population, before the Government and the European public. The aim was certainly grand; but to embark on the task was to take a leap into the dark. The difficulties were the organisation of capital, process of building up goodwill for a new paper, the canvass for readers and paying subscribers among the few, widely distributed, intelligent reading Natives, the dependence for one's bread and butter upon such a precarious and ambiguous proposition. This colossal problem might have dismayed any other man. It took him long to decide. Meantime a stirring General Election engaged his attention. This is graphically described by Mr. Richard Rose Innes thus: "When my brother, the Chief Justice, entered public life in the General Election of 1883 as one of the candidates for Victoria East, Mr. Jabavu was our chief Native supporter and canvasser.

A strong, virile, active young man he then was, with a keen strong interest in all political questions and a burning desire to advance Native interest against strong opposition—for those were the days of the Sprigg “Disarmament Act” to which we were bitterly opposed, and other vexed questions hotly debated at the time, when in the whole history of the Cape Colony the Premiership was held by one who was probably the subtlest enemy of Native political privileges. The call to fight for the privileges of his race became clear and insistent, and the way was providentially opened by Richard Rose Innes along with some friends who, in the Victoria East election which was being contested, gave him an opportunity to show what he could do and of which he availed himself to the utmost. It is significant that Jabavu had himself been approached by prominent members of the Dutch and Native population of the constituency in question and had been given an invitation to stand as a candidate for Parliament. His answer to this was that under the circumstances he believed that a Native could exert but little influence in a Parliament composed of whites, and advised that their votes would be effectively utilised if given to some suitable European with satisfactory views and sympathy. For this he suggested James Rose Innes now Chief Justice of the Union of South Africa.)”

Mr. Jabavu,” continues R. W. Rose Innes, “threw himself into the contest with arduour and enthusiasm and travelled with us through the districts of Alice and Peddie. It is due to his memory to say, that though pressed to do so, he would accept no remuneration. He was a poor man, but he preferred, as he said ‘to work for love of the cause,’ and he did not spare himself. We received valuable support from the late Mr. J. W. Weir and from the Rev. Dr. Stewart, and our candidate, though he entered late into the contest, was returned.

My connection with and interest in Mr. Jabavu from this point steadily grew. I found that he possessed a remarkable knowledge of public questions and was a close student of politics and policies, with strong convictions and a gift of incisive speech in his own tongue. He always spoke cautiously and deliberately in English or to an English audience as if he were choosing his words and feeling his way. He was filling a new role and had therefore to be guarded and circumspect, for many were watching to trip him up or to distort his words and actions."

This circumspection in speech he always observed, and the result is that he neither entangled himself nor his people through injudicious language.

Indeed it is noteworthy that he was never involved in a libel case, although on several occasions clandestine attempts were made to ruin his career by those whom he had worsted in argument".

"Time tries the truth in everything."

CHAPTER II. POLITICS.

EDITING "IMVO," HIS LIFE'S WORK (1884-1921).

In response to the requests of his people to undertake work of national service, he decided at first to take up law studies and consulted with Mr. Innes, but felt that his real call was journalism, although the path was not clear. Mr. Innes says:—

"After the elections I found him looking around somewhat hopelessly for a suitable outlet, for a sphere for his life's work. He had the self-confidence of youth, but appeared to be baffled and perplexed—saw his way, but had not the means to advance it. The ogre of finance then standing athwart so many paths and enterprises stood in his way, and had to be met and overcome. He was convinced that Native education had supplied a sufficiency of readers. At this crisis he consulted with my esteemed and lifelong friend—and friend of native races—the late Mr. James Wilson Weir, and myself. Mr. Weir, in his large hearted impulsive way, met every difficulty with resource and resolution. We found that Mr. Jabavu had his plans perfected, all had been long and carefully thought out. He had everything in readiness except the money to start the venture—the name of the projected paper, its attitude towards parties, the printing of it partly in English and partly in Kafir; all details in fact, necessarily connected with the launching of a big enterprise. These were completed. The financial difficulty was surmounted by Mr. Weir and myself entering into a joint guarantee with a local bank. Mr. Jabavu toured the Native Territories and the Border districts and returned enthusiastic and confident. The want, he saw, was great: he would supply it. The hour had struck.

Everything seemed ripe for the great scheme—for such it was to all of us. Remember, we were breaking new ground; we had no one with past experience to guide us.

A printing contract was entered into with the "Cape Mercury" and all preliminary difficulties overcome and the paper was at last successfully started, and it was with pardonable pride that we read the first issue straight from the Press. This would be a considerable accomplishment at any time; in those days it was a great one, and from that day forward Mr. Jabavu never looked back. He proved to be a born editor with a facile trenchant pen, in both Kafir and English. Subscribers came in shoals and the demand for the "Imvo" increased rapidly—as did the printer's bill! The natives received the paper with acclamation, reading it themselves and reading it aloud to others. To them it seemed to usher in a new era. It was a long step forward and was much appreciated.

Later on Mr. Weir and I found to our dismay that the bank overdraft approached four figures in total. Subscriptions were in arrear: many expected never to be asked to pay. Something had to be done and drastic action was imperative. Mr. Weir's business experience and determination came to our assistance and on his suggestion the late Mr. Wm. Wells was appointed accountant and book-keeper and the editor placed on a small salary, which he cheerfully accepted. It took time, but the change worked and the position was eventually won. Hosts of subscribers were struck off and financial stability restored. According to promise we thereupon handed back the paper into Mr. Jabavu's hands, where it has remained ever since. As founder, proprietor and editor he worked hard and the success attained has been well deserved."

Thus did he make his debut in King Williamstown in

November, 1884, when "Imvo Zabantsundu" ("Native Opinion") first saw light. Never did circumstances so opportunely produce the right man at the most auspicious moment. The Bantu race was in its formative stage of development. European rulers were in a position either to make or mar the future of the aborigines who, in politics, were yet without a guide of their own kith and kin. Here was a young man at the comparatively early age of twenty-four, with brilliant parts, on the threshold of a promising future. We can easily imagine his throbbing excitement and elation over the timely assistance of the friendly whites who represented the cream of Englishmen, and who by their magnanimity, have made the Cape Colony a comfortable haven for the black men. His activities were at once multifarious; and were in the main typical of the grand life of usefulness and self-denial that he led for the next thirty years. In his office he carried on his shoulders the responsibility of being the sole Native mouth-piece of his people throughout South Africa up to the Zambesi by means of his single-handed journal as against many European newspapers. At the same time he was largely his own clerk, his own advertising agent and general whip for subscribers, a duty that frequently took him to the areas of Middledrift, Peddie, Tembuland, and Transkei. He was the Native political vedette conducting an indefatigable search in all English and Dutch exchange papers for anything affecting Native interests.

Sprigg's Disarmament Act (1878-1880) and the policy of the Dutch Bond party were haunting spectres to all Natives, and required unfailing vigilance. Naturally he allied himself to all statesmen who espoused the cause of the Native: the Solomons, J. X. Merriman, J. W. Sauer, and the Molteno's, among others.

In educational matters he was among the leaders of the "Native Educational Association," an important

body in those days that periodically published an intelligent commentary on all current Native questions, helping to fashion and direct Native opinion. Locally he organised and conducted an adult evening school, of which he was principal teacher. To this effort many of his Native fellow citizens owe their education.

In Church life his work was heavy and taxing, as he was a constant member of Conference, a local preacher spending most Sundays away from home, a circuit steward, an onerous office that rendered him a useful factotum in his Church. At the same time he was most friendly with people of other denominations, for example, the Rev. W. B. Rubusana, a great preacher who was his close friend, often spent happy week ends with him.

In local social life he, with his friend Paul Xiniwe whom he had induced to come and open the first Native hotel in the Colony, was a central figure. In fact, in all matters appertaining to Native affairs he soon established himself as the unquestioned spokesman, as is illustrated by the outstanding incident of the trial of Rev. J. D. Don which, briefly, runs thus:—A Dutchman Wilhelm J. Pelzer shot a Native called Zechariah dead in cold blood, at Burghersdorp on the 16th January, 1885, and was allowed to go unpunished by the Magistrate. The "Cape Mercury" of March and the "Christian Express" published the notes of the Magistrate's record, but Government declined to prosecute. Rev. John Davidson Don, a Presbyterian pastor at King Williamstown wrote a powerful letter in the Mercury of 11th April in denunciation of the gross miscarriage of justice, concluding with these pungent words:—

"That poor man's blood cries to heaven, not merely against the wretched murderer, but against the Government which refuses to prosecute, and the country which condones such conduct. I, for my part, will have no share in this responsibility. Therefore, to clear my own

conscience, I solemnly protest, in the name of God, of law, of justice, and order, against the manner in which this foul crime has been dealt with."

The consequence of this was that Mr. Don was prosecuted by Government for Criminal libel, being defended in a four-days' trial at the Grahamstown Eastern District Court, by Richard Solomon who registered his greatest forensic success. This led to the popular acquittal of Rev. J. D. Don, which shook the whole country from one end to the other, establishing once and for all the principle of "the sacredness of human life, (whatever be the colour of a man's skin), the purity of the administration of justice, and the liberty of fair comment in the Press." Mr. Don became the hero of the day, being met at Debe Nek by a mounted commando of Natives who triumphantly accompanied him for sixteen miles into "King," where he was received with loud congratulations by an enthusiastic population. In the general ovation the Natives joined and presented an address composed by J. Tengo Jabavu, and "read with a very clear enunciation" thus:—

"Reverend and Dear Sir,—We cannot allow the occasion of your triumphant return to the sphere of your labours to pass without expressing to you the deep debt of gratitude which we all owe to you as a race. We congratulate you on the issue of the matters laid to your charge, we heartily thank you for your herculean struggles in the sacred cause of Truth and Justice, and we cannot but admire and love you for the anguish of soul and sore trouble which you have had to endure to regain that precious fair-dealing, (if but in words,) which was, by a strong arm, being wrested from us of colour.

It has now been made clear to all the world that the man who wantonly shot a Native, in a British Colony, and killed him, has been openly and boldly denounced

as a murderer; and that, although the legal advisers of the Crown had declined to prosecute him, but prosecuted, or rather persecuted him who protested, the Judges have acquitted the denouncer, and showed that he was justified in his criticism of public conduct. It is not for us now, as is our custom, to ask the news as to how and what is to be done with the murderer. Our duty here to-day is simply to rejoice that you are safely returned to our midst by the Providence of him who rides over the storms and bids the surging elements do His will. We are grateful to think that in these days when prejudice seems to be getting the upper hand over Justice and good Government, you have been the means of rousing that spirit of fair-play, which has won and achieved Empires that last; and we rejoice further that, as an Ambassador of Christ, and minister of the mysteries of His Gospel, you have practically, and with all boldness, preached, under great persecutions, that which the holy and noble army of your predecessors have announced before you in this land, viz: "Thou shall love thy neighbour as thy self." This, the triumph of your act, has allayed our suspicions as to the soundness of the system of Government; it has subdued our excitement and alarm, which had reached their utmost tension, and it has grounded and re-established the faith of the wavering, who had begun to fear that even religion itself was but a political dodge intended to weaken the minds of men into submission.

Finally, we beg to assure you that our sympathy for you was deep and not feigned; that our anxiety as to the result you can imagine, for on it depended the fate of us all as a race, and that our joy is now unbounded. And now that the strife is over, and you are returned to follow the life that now is, we humbly wish you God-speed, that as heretofore, you will not

forget that we are the burden that is "on thee laid and must bear, now with gladness, now with courage, till a hereafter, when these thy labours shall with endless gifts be paid, and in everlasting glory, then with brightness be arrayed."

In conclusion, we beg to assure you that the sentiments herein expressed are not only on our behalf as Natives of King William's Town exclusively, but also on behalf of our countrymen throughout South Africa.— We are Reverend and Dear Sir, yours most sincerely."

[Signatures of Names.]

To celebrate this historical event Jabavu gave to his four-weeks' old first baby-boy the name of "Davidson Don," whilst quite a number of children throughout the land were for the same reason christened "Don"

From this time onwards it is difficult to separate the doings of Tengo Jabavu from those of the "Imvo." In the great battles that he fought on behalf of his people his weapon was his editorial pen, the effects of which not infrequently engaged the attention of the Cape Parliament. Not long after, the intervention of "Imvo" saved Pondoland from an imminent war that threatened the confiscation and occupation of that beautiful reserve by the none-too-friendly Cape Parliament.

Taxation without a mutual understanding was the root of the trouble. Chief Sigcau was, through some misinterpretation, charged with high treason, and Cape forces were being sent to arrest him. Tengo Jabavu wrote Rev. Peter Hargreaves, a fellow Wesleyan Methodist informing him of the situation, and asking him to save Pondoland from devastation, by personally taking Sigcau to the Kokstad jail, otherwise the Pondo would fight and lose their country. Hargreaves duly handed him over to be kept in custody to await his trial. The case was tried and Sigcau was sentenced to ten years' banishment in Robben Island. Jabavu, through

the "Imvo," advocated that an appeal be made to the Supreme Court at Cape Town to test the point why Pondoland should be taxed by the Cape Government without having been annexed.

Justice de Villiers presided and after a five days' trial gave judgment in favour of Sigcau as against the Government represented by the Premier and the Attorney-General. A counter appeal was made to the Privy Council in England where Sigcau defended by H. H. Asquith, again won his cause, a sensational vindication of the "Imvo" and its editor. An expression of thanks for this patriotic service is recorded by a Barkly West correspondent on the 23rd December 1886 in the "Imvo" of 15th January 1887. Its literal translation runs thus:—

"I am thankful to you, thou lad of Jabavu, for the great service you have rendered. May you live long. I am thankful that you have defeated the enemy of the Pondos. You have defeated Government and its armies, destroyed its war chariots, scattered its horsemen. The tails of the Pondo cattle you have saved; the souls of a thousand Pondos you have saved; the land of the Pondos you have saved; to-day there reigneth peace in Pondoland and this has been done through you in this paper of yours. Let the Pondos thank you, for it is you who have worked for this peace, Perhaps a Pondo may say "I have won the peace through my speech" but it is not so. I say, lad of Jabavu, do thou do like this to-morrow too, for this to-day is your heroism, this your courage; for to-day you fought, fighting for thousands of people, fighting for the hearth of Ngqungqushe, of Faku. To-day you are adorned with a laurel in the whole country; Government will henceforth hesitate to act precipitately in any other matter; at our Great Place now the Queen [Victoria] has a watchman in you. You will be well advised

not to wait for anyone to thank you for no one among your countrymen can thank you because we are ignorant people. Look unto One only; it is He that will thank you; we are not people but mere shadows, engrossed in envy and mutual jealousy. Our patriots have died and we are left with you, lad of Jabavu. Be strong for you are not alone, but with your Creator; He will win for you all the battles you are fighting. Once more I repeat, long life to you."

This tribute is not isolated, but is a type of the sentiments felt and often expressed by thousands of *Bantu* people for one service and another which Jabavu rendered gratuitously throughout the next thirty years. He was never so happy as when extricating his people from some predicament or other. The Sprigg Government was evidently bent upon giving the Natives very little repose, keeping them in a constant turmoil. The Disarmament Act 1878-1880 was, in the first instance, founded upon an unwarranted distrust of Natives and it engendered an atmosphere of suspicion which in turn brought about several conflicts, notably with the Basuto (1880.) These were times of persecution: The vexed question of Native Titles to their lands, the Pass Laws which were creating friction, the unlimited sale of ardent drinks calculated to demoralise the people, and the Native Disfranchisement Bill. Tengo Jabavu led in a constitutional agitation against these laws, his object being to petition Parliament and to "pour memorials into the ears of members without stint." His work was not in vain for eventually the sale of European liquor was actually restricted, the trouble over Titles was settled; the rigours of Native Pass Laws were, through the influence of the "Imvo," gradually toned down till to-day Passes are almost obsolete in Cape Colony; and the Native Disfranchisement Bill was, thanks to the "Imvo," effectually

destroyed, though only after a herculean struggle, the record of which fortunately remains largely intact in the "Imvo" file of 1887. As the successful defeat of the Sprigg-Government conspiracy to disfranchise Natives stands out prominently as probably Jabavu's greatest political achievement, we make no apology for quoting his writings thereon in full, from the meagre materials to hand. His first article appeared on Wednesday 23rd March 1887 headed

"MUZZLING THE NATIVES:—"

The Bill which the Sprigg-Government has given notice of introducing next Parliamentary Session, with the ostensible object of making 'better provision for the Registration of Persons entitled to the Electoral Franchise' is about the severest blow that has ever been aimed at Native rights since representative institutions were introduced in this country. The Cape Times, a journal which cannot be suspected of negrophilistic tendencies whatever, characterizes it as an attempt "to cloak injustice under the specious pretext of reform."

The "Cape Argus," no blind partisan of the Natives, describes it as a "dishonest measure" which is "miscalled."

Under the first and the third clauses of the Bill it is proposed to do away with the present lists compiled four months ago, during the present year. The object of this is of course obvious: The general election coming off next year, the ministry dread an appeal to the country on the present complete lists; and the register must needs be manipulated to suit their designs. Field-cornets are the officers entrusted with the important functions of placing on the roll such persons as they may deem entitled to send a representative to Parliament. Inasmuch, then, as it would be absurd to expect a Field-cornet to have a personal knowledge of

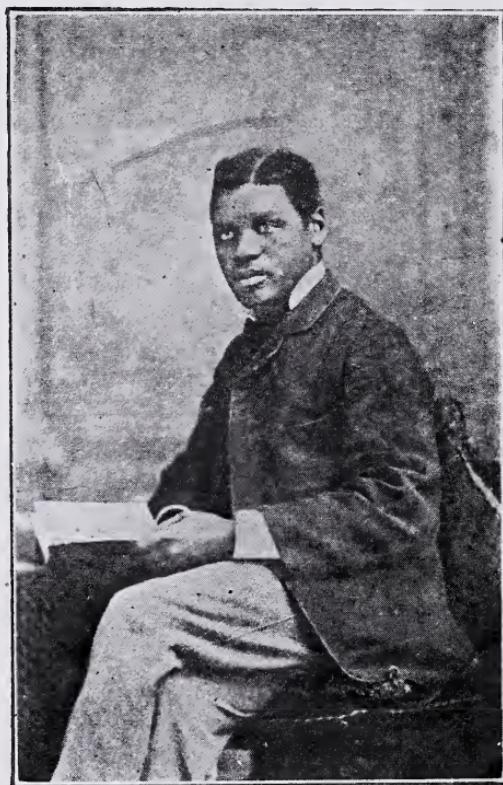
any but a few natives in his Ward, it is fair to conclude that Whites alone would be enrolled. Then it is proposed to constitute the Civil Commissioner a final referee to decide upon the claims of those who may have been ignored by the Field-cornet. But what is given with one hand in this proviso, is taken away with the other; for this appeal to the civil commissioner is to involve costs after the fashion of those adjudged in a civil action. Then, as if these stupendous difficulties were not enough to keep our countrymen from their rights as liege subjects of the Queen, the government proceeds to enact in clause 17 that "No person shall be entitled to be registered as a voter by reason of his sharing in any communal or tribal occupation of lands, or place of residence." Such are the provisions of a Bill whereby the aboriginal inhabitants of this portion of her Majesty's dominion are to be deprived of the privileges they have enjoyed in common with their fellow-subjects, the Colonists, since British rule was set up in these parts. This Bill, which seriously affects the rights of the majority of the inhabitants of the country, is to repeal the vital portions of the Constitution Ordinance granted to this country after due deliberation fifteen years ago, for clause 2 reads:—

"So much of every Act, Ordinance, or other statutory enactment having the force of law, which shall be in conflict with the provisions of this Act is hereby repealed." In their endeavour to stifle the feelings of black inhabitants of this country, the Government has gone to the extreme of raking up the Inquisition from the debris of the Middle Ages, for those—black and white—claiming by virtue of "salary" or "wage" are to stand cross-examination on "The names of their employers, from whom and the period of employment during which the necessary amount of salary or wage was earned."

Wherefore is all this, is the question which naturally rises to the surface at the contemplation of this coercive legislation. What has the native done to have such treatment meted out to him? That he has in the past exercised the franchise with intelligence and discretion is evidenced by the stamp of gentlemen he has sent to Parliament, and we challenge any one to place his finger upon a single member of the present or previous Parliaments, whose return is due to Natives, who has been a drawback to the House. This is perfectly natural, for it is generally admitted that there is nothing to which the Native of South Africa has, from time immemorial, given more earnest and closer attention than the philosophy of Government. Politics is to him a second nature; and it is to tamper with this that Sir Gordon Sprigg, is introducing his Bill to Muzzle the Natives. It has besides, been over and over again acknowledged that our people have never abused their electoral privileges. To support this statement we can easily and readily cite the opinions of a large number of eminent gentlemen who have taken a leading position in the larger affairs of the country, but, for space exigencies we forbear, and content ourselves with giving the views of two gentlemen at present at the head of the government of the Colony. In a speech which his Excellency the Governor delivered at the Empire Club banquet in 1884, Sir Hercules Robinson observed: "In the Cape and its dependencies the English bear to the Dutch the proportion of about nine to eleven, whilst both together bear to the Natives the proportion of only one to three." By eliminating the Native factor then, Sir Gorden Sprigg establishes the ascendancy of the Dutch in the Colony for ever. We live to see if the English will tacitly allow this to be done. Well, Sir Hercules Robinson went on to say, "Responsible Government, as far as the Cape Colony proper is con-

cerned, has been a complete success, notwithstanding the fact that the Natives within the represented districts exceed the Europeans in the proportion probably of two to one." This testimony of the Governor is very valuable to us. It shows conclusively that, however it may suit certain politicians to trot out what they choose to call the "barbarism of the Natives" as a bogey to frighten the crowd, our people have been on the side of light and progress. But Sir Gordon Sprigg's testimony is even more emphatic. In a truly statesmanlike speech delivered in 1877 by the Prime Minister in East London, Sir Gordon Sprigg argued on grounds both of justice and of expediency that the Franchise should be freely granted to the Natives who possess the necessary legal qualifications. Mr. (not then Sir Gordon) Sprigg said :

"Can it be affirmed that any evil has arisen in the past from our Natives having the same civil rights as ourselves? I am unable to say that it has. In the division of King Williamstown a considerable number of Natives are registered, and many of them at an election record their votes. I may be told of instances when the successful candidate has been put in by the help of the Native vote, and that the defeated candidate had a larger number of Europeans. But the practical question is: Was the successful candidate the inferior man? I do not think that it can be affirmed that he was; and if so the Parliament and the country did not suffer from the Native vote; it might even be said that they gained by it I will not now go into the large question of the difference of race and the causes of the superiority of one race to another; but it is my opinion that the black man here distinctly recognizes the superiority of the white man, and that for a very long time to come, perhaps for ever, the recognition will prevail to such an extent as to leave the representation in the hands of men of European descent. It is, in my



AT LOVEDALE, 1881.

opinion, extremely dangerous under a representative Government to establish the principle that the larger part of the population shall have no voice in the councils of the country. The true way to remove discontent is to provide a channel for its true utterance. It is the recognition of the soundness of this principle that has been at the bottom of many Reform Bills that have received the assent of the British Legislature. It is the refusal to recognise it that has led to so much disturbance and rebellion on the continent of Europe. Under Parliamentary Government representation is your safety-valve. Tie down your safety-valve and there is an explosion."

Such were the enlightened principles of the Premier in 1877. Would that the Government would dare to put them in practice for the lasting good of our native land!

The battle over the Disfranchisement Bill, officially known as the "Registration Bill" was a long and bitter one. It is further reported in the issues of May and June when the Bill became law and Natives organised a petition and appeal to the Imperial Government, as recorded in the remaining issues of that year. Although the appeal seemed, for the time being, disallowed by the Colonial Secretary, the "Imvo," in its leading articles showed plenty of fight and an unbeaten spirit clinging to the ultimate belief in the British sense of justice, refusing to acquiesce in the permanence of the iniquitous act.

This battle, along with that of the rigorous Pass Laws, was won by our agitator-hero in quite a different way from what he had planned, namely through the Hofmeyr Act, No. 39 of 1887. This was a direct outcome of the wide agitation originated among Native voters by Jabavu through the columns of the "Imvo;" for the agitation led to the ultimate defeat of the Sprigg plot.

The year 1887 is significant also for a change of policy in some of the Dutch leaders of the Cape Bond party. Up to that time the Dutch who were led by J. H. Hofmeyr (Bond Party) in the Cape Parliament were regarded by both English and Natives as unalloyed reactionaries seeking to enslave the aborigines with the notorious Transvaal Republic humiliating Pass Laws, Dipping Regulations for black travellers, and Sjambok discipline for servants, while they were assumed to be anti-British in sentiment and suspected of collusion with the Sprigg ministry to form political alliance at the price of the Registration Act that was to deprive Natives of the only political weapon of defence that they possessed. It was therefore a surprise that Hofmeyr should introduce in Parliament his "Removal of Native Disabilities Bill" the aim of which was to secure the exemption of Native registered voters from all irritating colour discriminating laws. In his speech on his bill Hofmeyr said he did this in consequence of the favourable impression he had got at his meeting the Native deputation, headed by Jabavu, representing Native voters. At first this was regarded as too good to be true, Englishmen pointing out that it was a deep-laid insidious device to open the floodgates of European drink to the better class of Natives. Jabavu warmly supported this bill on the ground that its evil would be more than counter-balanced by the advantage of a relief from pin-pricking laws for the educated Natives. The Bill became law in August, being known as the Hofmeyr Act No. 39 of 1887, an act which remains to this day as the minor magna charta of Native voters in Cape Colony. From this, as well as from several communications to "Imvo" by "Lidmaat" and "Dutch Colonist," Jabavu learnt the fact that not all the Dutch were the enemies of Natives any more than all English Settlers were their friends. The latter was notably exemplified by the

attitude of an influential 1820 Settler whose letter is discussed by Jabavu in the "Imvo" of 11th May, 1887, in the following terms :—

In the "Cape Mercury" of April 14th, there is a letter which we have not been able to notice before now, on this important question signed by Mr. R. M. Bowker, on which a few remarks may be made. He tells us in his letter that "a Colonist of sixty-seven years experience gives his opinion." The object of the letter is of course to support the movement set on foot by the Ministry of taking away the privilege of voting from the Natives. What we wish to direct attention to is the valuable testimony given by such a man to the way the Native has hitherto used the vote. Mr. Bowker's testimony is as follows :—"They (the Natives) may not have abused the privilege (of voting) so many of them enjoy by any riotous conduct at elections; I am prepared to admit that the contrary is the case." It has been pointed out again and again that although the Native has for many years enjoyed the privilege of voting he has used it in a way which has been a credit to himself and been for the good of the country. Here we find a man who is opposed to the Native franchise distinctly admitting that the vote has hitherto been well used. His chief ground of objection is thus stated by the writer: "I cannot forget our troubles from Kafir wars and stealing, and the rebellion in Kat River, Theopolis, Shiloh, and other missionary stations, and consequently cannot think the coloured people entitled to the same privileges as our European population." This reminds us of a fable of the wolf and the lamb. Because *some* of our ancestors rebelled, it does not matter how well we use our rights, they must be taken away. That at the time referred to, many of our parents died and lost all along with the colonists, goes for nothing. We ask, is this fair? Is it justice?

The letter contains other statements which may be referred to. Mr. Bowker tell us, that the bulk of the Natives are a hundred per cent. worse than they were, when he first came to the country as a small boy in 1820. Are we to understand that Mr. Bowker admits or confesses that his influence in so far as the Natives are concerned, has been for the worse. We have no doubt that the views he advocates have this tendency, and that if followed they may have this result. Mr. Bowker regrets that the framers of the Constitution Ordinance admitted the Natives to the right of voting, but does not blame them as their (the framers') information was drawn from Missionary Reports and Colonial newspapers, "which unfortunately for the Colony are all more or less one-sided." We do not intend to defend the missionaries and the newspapers against Mr. Bowker who happens to be one of the "few real colonists," from whom correct information and fair representation are to be looked for. What we wish to point out in reference to the framers of the constitution is that they did not make a constitution to suit the Natives or Europeans, but simply fixed a standard which was to apply to individuals irrespective of colour or nationality. We contend that in doing so they showed their wisdom and acted according to the best English traditions. The principle then acted upon was sound, and it is the principle we are now fighting for. It is as different from that advocated by Mr. Bowker as light from darkness. What we contend is, that if the franchise is to be raised, or if educational qualifications are necessary, make the change so as to apply to all individuals who should happen to be on a certain level. We hold that any distinction which is based on colour or nationality is pernicious and unfair; and when it is admitted that the Natives have hitherto used their privilege rightly, we say that the proposed change is not only unnecessary but disgraceful and dangerous.

As a result of this, Jabavu foresaw that the ideal Government would be one composed of the best statesmen of both English and Dutch extraction, a co-operation later embodied in the South African Party which subsequently included such friends of Natives as J. H. Hofmeyr himself, W. P. Schreiner, J. W. Sauer, J. X. Merriman, J. Rose Innes, F. De Waal, F. S. Malan, developing ultimately into the present day "S. A. P." which swallowed up the Jameson Progressive and Unionist parties. This political pre-vision was a strong gift of Tengo Jabavu.

Another great service with which he has immortalised his memory is the restoration of the land of the Glen Grey (Tembuland) Natives from which they were being evicted without proper cause. In the war of the Ama Qwati of Stokwe Ndlela (1879) a number of Natives left their farms in the Xonxa district to take shelter under the Government Protection camps. When the war was over and the owners were returning to their habitations they were forbidden by the military commandants, who declared these lands vacated. They were now ordered to migrate across the Indwe, the intention of Government being clearly to parcel out these districts around Lady Frere, into farms for Europeans.

Strong articles of protest appeared in the "Imvo" against this piece of injustice by which advantage was being taken of an ignorant and defenceless people to confiscate their lands, as had already been done in the case of the territories of other Natives. The articles in the Xosa columns stirred the minds and hearts of the sufferers. Tengo Jabavu was requisitioned from King Williamstown and a huge "indaba" convened for him at Roda when the whole question was probed, the claims being collated with the intelligent methods of procedure so characteristic of the Editor. A deputation

consisting of Jabavu himself, Rev. Johannes Mahonga and Mr. Hendrick Kalipa was sent to approach Government on the matter at Cape Town. The consequence was that a Commission of Enquiry was appointed composed of Europeans well known for their sympathetic attitude towards Natives, among whom was Dr. (now Sir) Bisset Berry of Queenstown. The happy result was that the Tembus who were threatened with dispossession were peaceably and amicably restored to their land and to-day are the richest possessors of land among Cape Colony Natives. They too, have good reason to remember thankfully the patriotic services of our hero.

The succeeding Ministry of Rhodes made provision for the government of those people by means of the historical Glen Grey Act, No. 30 of 1895, which subsequently produced the Transkeian Territories General Council and the Native Affairs Act of 1920. On this system Jabavu's advice was this: "Notwithstanding its imperfections it will be wisdom for you to accept this Act for it grants you the privilege of directing your affairs, and of controlling the appropriation of your revenue, whilst at the same time it grants you a mode of communicating in a representative manner with Government, on your urgent social and national problems." This piece of wisdom, propounded nearly thirty years ago by Jabavu is only now being re-discovered and confirmed by many enlightened Natives in the Cis-Kei districts. Indeed it was a recognised characteristic of the man that in matters pertaining to the uplifting of the Native people he foresaw the essentials of things many years before others, black and white. Apart from his political triumphs in connection with the Native Disfranchisement Act, the Sigcau Case, and the Glen Grey Lands, several other effective interventions in defence of Native chiefs and their territories stand to his credit. Here we shall make but brief allusion to

them in the hope that in the next edition of this book the full story of each may be set forth. They are the following :—

The Pass Laws.—The Pass Laws of 1888 were so severe in Cape Colony that Tengo Jabavu was sent by Natives as a deputation with Rev. Elijah Makiwane and Rev. Isaac Wauchope to intercede with Government. The consequence was that the Pass Law has been relaxed ever since. This is a great privilege when one compares the conditions in Cape Colony with those obtaining in Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal, where Natives lead a haunted life through this miserable relic of the Feudal System.

Umhlontlo, Chief of the Pandomise.—The Pandomise, like the Pondos, strongly objected to the institution of European magistrates to govern their territory ; for they loved their chiefs and were suspicious that magistrates were Government schemers plotting to supplant their chiefs and take away their land. They had officially come under Government in 1872, the section under Umditshwa occupying Tsolo, with Mr. Orpen as magistrate ; and that which was under Umhlontlo at Qumbu under Mr. H. Hope (called " Sunduza " = Shifter). The people of Umhlontlo murdered Hope in 1880, while he was watching a Native dance. The blame was laid on Umhlontlo who disclaimed responsibility and disappeared for twenty three years until found by Dovey at Palmietfontein in 1903, arrested, tried at Grahams-town, condemned never to return to his country, but finally acquitted through the intervention of the " Imvo."

Fingoes and Mashonaland.—The Government had a scheme by which Fingoes were to be transplanted from Fingoland to Rhodesia. Some actually went to Bembesi where to-day, on account of the failure of Government to observe promises made to them through Rhodes, they

are ill at ease. The "Imvo" recommended them to survey their lands forthwith, and this advice led to their confirming the security of tenure which they hold to this day.

Imprisoned Xosa Chiefs.—During the Queen's Jubilee in May 1887, when there was a general amnesty for all political prisoners, Sir Gordon Sprigg declined to release Chiefs Tini Maqoma, Gungubele, Matanzima, Edmund Sandile, Gumna, and two others who were at Robben Island, on the pretext that "There were persons who missed no opportunity of stirring up the Natives on the frontier against the Government of the country as their oppressor. He might refer to one highly educated Native who published a newspaper in which he sets forth seditious articles. ["Oh" indignantly from Capt. Brabant] His honourable colleague was doubtless intimately acquainted with Kafirland; but his (Sir Gordon's) authority was a greater authority—a gentleman who had been always regarded as the highest authority on Kafirland. He had to depend on this gentleman [who subsequently unmasked himself publicly in the "Cape Mercury" as the Hon. C. Brownlee] for his information, because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the Kafir tongue to read the articles himself, but he was informed that they were most libellous and seditious."

Jabavu, along with Mr. James Rose-Innes, the "Cape Times," the "Cape Argus," the "Port Elizabeth Telegraph," and others openly challenged the Premier and his "highest authority" to substantiate this accusation of sedition, which he characteristically stigmatised as a "base and baseless fabrication." The charge never was, and never could be proved, and eventually the chiefs were released in 1888.

Rinderpest Troubles, 1896.—The virulent cattle disease called Rinderpest wrought unparalleled havoc

with Native stock in 1896 and, though inoculation proceeded satisfactorily, the authorities through some irrational contrariety, ordered that all cattle be shot down dead in any kraal where infection was detected. The pleading of Jabavu on behalf of his people was touching, as he put the unanswerable query, "What is the gun going to do? Will it help the disease or the Native?" And sure enough the wicked law had to be withdrawn.

Ama Ntinde.—Several disputes have from time to time taken place about the land boundaries between the King Williams Town Council and the Ama-Ntinde clan of the Great Gaika people. At one time the latter were already being removed from their haunts on account of certain stock thefts at Yellowoods (Ncemera). It is agreed that but for the timely interventions of Tengo Jabavu and his paper, these people, who to-day enjoy security of tenure, would probably by now, have been landless and would have suffered a worse fate than has befallen hapless Natives such as those who have lost their lands to the Fort Beaufort and Alice Borough Councils.

Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembus.—This chief of the Tembu people who died in 1920 was extricated from difficult positions by the "Imvo," when envious parties made his position precarious in Government circles and in his religious connections with the Wesleyan Methodists. He owed not a little to Tengo Jabavu that his end was that of a peace-enjoying British subject and a happy Christian.

Chief William Kama of the Ama-Gqunukwebe.—At the court of Kama, Jabavu was a popular counsellor right from his Lovedale days when he lectured to the people and the Chief on the "Isigidimi." It was only natural that he should leave nothing undone to secure

satisfaction for the Ama-Gqunukwebe in whose favour he got the troublesome Forest Land Question settled, arranged for Government salaries for this Chief, along with Chief Mabandla of the Tyumie, elevated them from being called Headman to the dignity of Chieftainship—concessions secured from General Herzog when Minister of Justice in 1912, during his interview when he accompanied Chief Songo Kama to Pretoria.

Le Fleur and the Griqua Trouble.—The intervention of the “Imvo” in the imminent rebellion of the Griquas under Le Fleur, son in law of Adam Kok, averted a probable war in which the Natives would certainly have been worsted and would have lost their present fertile territory. Jabavu proved to Government that this was not a genuine rebellion but a ruse of certain envious parties who wanted to stir up war in order to gratify personal ambition.

Chief Nathaniel Umhalla of the Ama-Ndlambe.—This chief, who died in 1920, owes his restoration to his old dignity of Chieftainship to the gratuitous service of Tengo Jabavu in his intercession with Government, when, as a consequence, Charles Madosi was called back from up country to assume the position of Headman.

Shooting of Native Labourers in G. W. Africa 1910.—This sad affair in which Natives, who had gone from Cape Colony to seek work in German West Africa, were maltreated called forth the strong pleading of the “Imvo” which resulted in the appointment of Dr. W. B. Rubusana and Mr. Enoch Mamba on a commission that amicably settled the troubles.

Lobengula and the Ma-Ndebele (“Matabili”) Wars 1893, 1896.—Here also the “Imvo” did its share in fighting the cause of the Mzilikazi (“Moselekatse”) people, who were under the yoke of Dr. Jameson, though without definite success. Dr. Jameson confessed his

regret in this connection at a public Native political meeting in Healdtown 1905.

King Khama of Bechuanaland.—The “Imvo” gave all its support to the historical mission of King Khama, when he went to England in 1895 to beseech the Queen to allow him to keep out the white man’s drink from his country, and also during the Rinderpest troubles of his sub-chief Galishiwe in 1896.

Natal Poll Tax Rebellion 1906, and the Case of Dinizulu 1909.—Here too “Imvo” did yeomen service in fighting the cause of Bambata and Dinizulu, making the position clear before the English public.

The Barolong Land Trouble 1911.—The “Imvo” espoused the cause of this oppressed people in a praiseworthy manner, and succeeded in securing them relief from disabilities.

East London Farmers and Natives 1919.—A movement by Europeans to exclude Natives from buying land in the Paardekraal, Chalumna and adjoining districts near East London resulted in Government declaring openly that “there is no law which empowers the Governor-General to prohibit by proclamation the sale of privately owned land to Natives” within the Cape Province, notwithstanding the Lands Act of 1913.

Apart from these services and others such as, fighting the battle of the Liquor Acts (1887), the Curfew Bell Regulations debarring Natives from sidewalks in East London and other towns, it may be mentioned that the “Imvo” was responsible for securing the release of a teacher J. S. Dlakiya from false imprisonment, the discontinuation of an illegal Bridge Toll on the Kei and other Rivers, and for resisting the tempting bribes of a syndicate of party-political plutocrats, who sought to buy over the politics of the “Imvo,” the upshot being:

that these "grafters" employed their money in a rival movement which fought Jabavu tooth and nail but ultimately died out having failed to extinguish the "Imvo."

Racialism.—Tengo Jabavu from beginning to end set his face against all racialism and movements such as the "Fingo Celebrations" and "Ntsikana's Day," fearing lest these should accentuate racial differences and foment hate, unrest, and inter-tribal feuds. In lieu of these he aggressively preached the Union of all Races and floated a movement "*Imbumba yezizwe*" (the Union of Races) that became a branch under the Universal Races Congress which assembled in London during 1911 to which he was sent as delegate.

From these meagre records we pass from this section with three quotations:—

The Christian Express of September 1894 refers to the petition made against the Glen Grey Bill by Natives under the lead of Tengo Jabavu who points out, among other things, that the rights of the Natives to their lands are disturbed by the Bill, that the lands are secured by Treaty obligations, the legal point involved being that the lands having been granted to the Natives by communal tenure, and being therefore inalienable, the Cape Parliament has no right to split up the land into plots which can be alienated by the consent of the Government of the day, and which may be transferred to Europeans, and that, "it forces large bodies of Natives to surrender their rights to lands occupied by their fathers and themselves and to pay a labour tax such as is at best a qualified slavery."

In the "Imvo" of 21st May 1907 Jabavu praises a brilliant speech by P. A. Molteno in the Imperial Parliament in the course of which the speaker referred to the injustice of British rule over the Transvaal Natives who were first disarmed, then oppressed, taxed

enormously and had compulsory labour forced on them, compulsory labour which had been one of the chief causes of the Matabele war. Jabavu's apposite comment on this is that "It is such deliverances which promote loyalty and contentment among the Natives when the people know that they have able, fearless and sincere champions in the highest councils to represent their cause, and the cause of right dealing with subject races. Mr. Molteno is doing our people a magnificent service in the British Parliament."

On the sale of strong drink to Natives the following "Leader" from the "*Imvo*" of March 1913 is typical of Tengo Jabavu's sanity, clearness and penetrating criticism. It is headed "*Liquor Restrictions*" and is of interest in view of the vexed question of the municipalisation of Kafir Beer:—

"Licencing Courts sat the other day. The only interest attaching them to relates to the attitude in respect of the sale of fire-water to aborigines. We live in a land of inconsistencies and incongruities, notwithstanding that it passes as a Christian country. These show how far man's best efforts are from making the ideal real. Whereas our white rulers are in great earnest, legislating to restrict the sale of fire-arms and ammunition to Natives, their nonchalance in regard to the sale of fire-water to these people is amazing. For ourselves we should restrict both evils, not only to whites but also to blacks, in the endeavour to achieve the golden age, when people, "shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." Thus, then, when Sir James Rose Innes introduced and piloted with no small difficulty, his liquor legislation, which provided, short of total prohibition, certain restrictions for the Native masses, we stood by his side, and have never regretted having

done so. It was class legislation it is true, but we were prepared to accept two-thirds of a loaf rather than lose all. Save in the farming district in the Midlands, there was at one time great opposition in Licensing Courts to the introduction of any Restrictions what-so-ever to the sale of alcoholic drinks. The English districts, in contradistinction to the Dutch, we confess with shame, were the more backward in this respect. But time, the great solvent, has so worked that a large Native district like King William's Town, where the battle of Restrictions was hard fought, to-day, thanks to the casting vote of a courageous Magistrate (Mr. Blenkins,) Restrictions are firmly established, to the extent that liquor reactionaries are afraid to raise the questions. The adjoining English divisions—Victoria East, Adelaide and Peddie—are gradually coming to the light. From absolute opposition they have reached the evolutionary stage of the casting vote of the Magistrate, which at present goes with the glorification of the liquor barrel. We feel some sympathy with the Magistrate who fears the consequences of going against the stream of the influential and articulate public opinion in his district in doing the right thing. But that popularity won in that way is not lasting may be seen in Mr. Blenkin's case. He dared to face it; but now all rise up to bless a brave, just and straight official.

Still the question remains whether it is not time for another Sir James Rose Innes to take another step, that will save weak Magistrates by crystallising into law the Restrictions that have been found most helpful in so many districts of the Border; and thus save unenlightened Native masses from themselves, in regard to this baleful and disastrous traffic in fire-water as they are doing in fire-arms."

"What men want is not talent, it is purpose; not the power to achieve, but the will to labour."

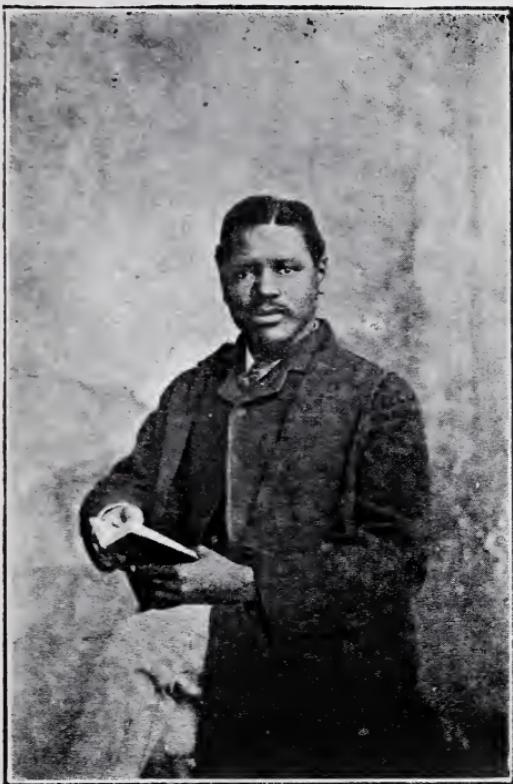
"Errare est humanum."—The Xosa language has a proverb to the effect that "No ragwort blooms but fades."

So with our hero. In his day he rose to all occasions and opportunities that presented themselves before him, rising higher than all other Native leaders and educated men who are reckoned as his rivals. For a quarter of a century the word of Tengo Jabavu in the "*Imvo*" was dogmatically accepted as authoritative, and unchallengeable, as the index of right policy in connection with Native affairs throughout South Africa. His political strength and popularity was largely due to his journal which was the only Native paper read in Cape Colony, Transvaal and Orange Free State. His prolonged success and popularity aroused envy and opposition on tribal and other grounds, and his countrymen, whom he had so well trained in the value of journalism, endeavoured to imitate his methods and floated short-lived rival journals to dispute his sway.

At the same time his limitations began to be apparent for his political trust in men rather than measures led him to committ his one great mistake, that of supporting Sauer's "Natives Land Act" of 1913. This was an act deliberately aiming at squeezing the black man out of the land and economically forcing him to be a permanent villein of the Boer farmers in the Northern Provinces. For it apportioned only twelve per cent of all land available in the Union of South Africa to the four and half-million blacks, reserving the remaining eighty-eight per cent for the one million and a quarter whites! The iniquity of this Act reflects the character of its sponsors, viz:—the reactionary anti-Native "Nationalist" section in Parliament who ruthlessly used their balance of power to force a perplexed Government to frame and carry a measure regarded on all hands to-day as the nadir of British injustice in South Africa.

By some fatal destiny the unpleasant task of introducing and piloting the Bill fell to the lot of the Rt. Hon J. W. Sauer, a life long champion of Native interests, and a personal friend of our subject. Jabavu believed incorrigibly in Sauer, believed that no evil could befall his people at Sauer's hands, believed that Sauer would, as usual, be resourceful enough to manipulate this admittedly wicked law for the ultimate good of Natives, trusting that, by a series of diplomatic exceptions and exemptions, its disastrous effects would be avoided. This was his first and great error because, while he saw that the Act was beneficial to the Natives of the Cape Province already naturally segregated in reserves, he failed to realise that it would impale the Free State Natives on the horns of a dilemma of eviction or serfdom. He thus incurred the odium of many erstwhile friends and his rivals took advantage of his unpopularity to proclaim that the "*Imvo*" "was too pro-Government and an uncritical tool of the Ministry." Added to this he lacked the power to reconcile himself with his opponents in frank discussion. Instead he ignored them as small fry, much to their annoyance which was expressed often in violent language and personal attack in press and book. He refused to recognise them, except to condemn and ridicule their methods in his newspaper. At length he was induced to take the field and contest the Tembuland seat against another Native but was heavily defeated. After this he virtually retired from the political arena and devoted his energy for the remainder of his life to other activities.

Adversity.—In addition to waning popularity in political connections, adversity overtook him in several directions, adversity from which he never fully recovered. In July 1900 he lost his first wife who had been a strong arm of support to him in his work. She left four sons. This loss disorganised certain schemes he



MATRICULATING AT LOVEDALE, 1883.

had laid out with regard to his family affairs. At the end of six months he was prevailed upon by his personal friends to re-marry and then married Miss Gertrude Joninga a tall and beautiful spinster of Knapps Hope Mission, well known in King William's Town in Native social life. She outlived him and has three surviving daughters.

During the Boer War the "*Imvo*" was closed down by order of the Military commandant, for no other reason than the vague idea that Jabavu had stood strongly against the war before it started, and had been dubbed a Pro-Boer on account of his peace views and opposition to all war. The paper was closed from August 1901 till October 1902, the financial loss due to this stoppage ruining its working for ever after. The editor meanwhile was obliged to seek a living elsewhere and invested in an unprofitable farm property just out of town. The war Compensations Commission ruled out the claim of the "*Imvo*" for losses incurred by the closure. On the contrary a claim for unpaid salary was lodged by the manager and, although the claim failed, the costs fell on the "*Imvo*" (as the claimant was unable to meet his costs) and thus about £2,000 was lost through sheer misfortune. From time to time after this the journal was hampered by dishonest clerks, at junctures when it seemed just about to recover financial equilibrium. Things went from bad to worse, the paper's financial condition giving Jabavu extreme anxiety year in and year out.

His stewardship in his church unduly taxed his heart and brain, as he had to balance complicated figures for nights on end, often to the neglect of his editorial work, and then personally to make heavy advances to save the church from disaster, with very little prospect of reimbursement. Further, he, on three other occasions, incurred heavy financial commitments on

national errands relying on the glib promises of his people who each time left him in the lurch:—in 1909 when he was deputed to London to fight the Colour Bar clause in the Union constitution; in 1911 when he was elected to attend the Universal Races Congress in London; in 1913 when he was pressed to contest the Tembuland Parliamentary Seat. With remarkable Christian fortitude he bore the losses with equanimity, never retaliating, never complaining in public. Nevertheless these and other causes of worry which need not be recounted here, harassed him in his work, tormenting his soul until they hastened his decline in health.

THE END.

It is wonderful how anguish of soul wears out even the strongest of constitutions; for Tengo Jabavu, according to Dr. Egan (of King Williamstown, when he examined him in 1903), was blessed with one of the finest constitutions, good enough to last a hundred years under normal conditions of life. This perfect physique was however doomed to be quickly worn down by excessive activity and abnormal anxiety. In 1911 during his winter in England, he caught a severe chill that laid him down for two weeks, his first serious illness in all his life. He was then fifty two years of age and was recommended by his medical adviser to take steps to reduce his weight. His next breakdown, in October 1914, was due to a nervous collapse during the excitement of welcoming his son Davidson Don back from England, a son he loved to a fault. From that time it became clear from his heavy breathing that his weight was somewhat too heavy for his heart to keep going many years longer, although he was by no means inconvenienced in his usual rounds of daily work. In 1915 he tried various kinds of cures without rehabilitating his health. In 1916 when he attended the opening

of the Native College he was already showing weakness and could not walk for any distance without risk of asthma. In 1917 during the heavy rains and consequent cold damp weather he was definitely declining in health though still just able to keep at his work. In 1918 he was down with the Influenza, whilst a further attack in 1919 produced a deranged stomach and regular fits of asthmatic spasms which were made worse by severe colds suffered during his attendance at the Native Education Commission in the winter months of May, June and July at Umtata, and King Williamstown. In the next winter of 1920 he was summoned by Government to Cape Town to give evidence—excellent evidence too—before the Select Committee on Native Affairs and, whilst there, suffered a breakdown that necessitated his being detained in a Nursing Home for several weeks through weakness of the heart. The train journey there and back accentuated his weakness and placed him definitely on the down grade. In 1921 his health declined very speedily with further complications of dropsy. He himself now became conscious that his end was not far off, but revealed this secret to a very few friends only. He requested his son to help him with the work of his newspaper by regular contributions, as he could no longer keep pace with his work. In August he confided to his personal friend Chief Songo Kama that he felt his departure to be at hand and that he had resolved to go and spend his last days on earth with his son at Fort Hare, where the last attendance on his remains could be best performed. True enough he entrained in utter helplessness and weakness on Wednesday 7th September to attend the Wesleyan Hostel Committee meeting on an extremely bleak day, alighting from the train only with utmost difficulty, and being lifted on to a motor-car by his son and favourite daughter-in-law. He duly attended the Committee meeting, though he took

very little part in the discussion, and returned to pass a restful night. On Thursday morning he was seized by a severe attack of asthmatic spasms which ceased at noon, the remainder of the day being uneventful. At midnight however, began the attack which continued unabated till he passed away with a peaceful countenance early on Saturday morning 10th September, 1921, at the age of sixty-two.

In his last two days many friends, black and white, visited him, notably Dr. Henderson, Principal of Lovedale, and Rev. J. Pendlebury who conducted several religious devotions for him. In his last twelve hours he was singularly bright and even humorous. He called his son, "Dave," and repeatedly urged him to get into touch with the "Imvo" and do all he could to keep it going. "Write, and keep it going, Dave" he said several times in the afternoon of Friday. With the Nurse Miss Joanna Nkwali, of Mt. Fletcher who was kindly lent by the matron of the Victoria Hospital, he cracked many jokes. To Mr. Dippa who called on him about midnight he humorously said: "Dippa, where do you dip now?" To Professor Kerr, the Principal of the College whom he loved as a dear friend he familiarly said "Hullo, Doctor;" "Yes, I am still working hard at it" (referring to his hard breathing); "*Perfectly satisfied, Doctor,*" is the noteworthy reply he gave to Professor Kerr when he had asked him "Mr. Jabavu, do you feel satisfied with the work you have done for your people?" Later on he with difficulty attempted the first verse of the famous hymn of Tiyo Soga:

Lizalis' idinga lako
 Tixo Nkosi yenyaniiso
 Zonk' intlanga zonk' izizwe
 Mazizuze usindiso.

Translation : Do thou fulfil Thy promise
 O God, Lord of the Truth
 All the races, all the nations
 Let them receive salvation.

and the last word he uttered was typical of the Christian that he was: "Yomelelani" (Be of Good Cheer), quoted from *St. John 16:33* "In the world ye shall have tribulation but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

Thus passed away a true servant of Christ, a true lover of his people, a hard worker, a courageous sufferer, a great conqueror, a hero whose life is worthy of imitation by all future generations of the great Bantu race.

"A victory is twice itself when the achiever brings home full numbers."

APPENDIX.

EXCERPTS FROM CONDOLENCE COMMUNICATIONS.

Mr. R. W. Rose-Innes, of King Williamstown.—The greater part of this appreciation has already been embodied in the earlier chapters of the book. Here we append the remaining parts:—

In the early hours of Saturday, the 10th September, there passed away at Fort Hare, somewhat unexpectedly, and amidst many manifestations of regret and sorrow, a notable personality—of high character, of wide influence, of great ability, a keen politician; a man who for many years exercised both weight and power amongst his compeers and throughout the Union of South Africa. To replace Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu in the editorship of “Imvo” as the wise, moderate far-seeing counsellor of his countrymen, on the Council of the Interstate Native College, and in the offices he faithfully filled from youth upwards in the Wesleyan Church, will be a matter of great difficulty.

After a long residence in this town and amidst the varied activities of his life, he gained the respect of all with whom he came in contact. Courteous always, temperate in the expression of his views and principles which he tenaciously held to the last, bold and courageous when boldness and courage were needed; self-effacing and yet self-respecting, modest and yet outspoken, he won universal esteem, and his death at the age of 62 years will be mourned by many, and the sympathy of this community will go out to his widow and his family of sons and daughters in this hour of sorrow and loss.

My friendship towards and connection with Mr. Jabavu are of long standing, and as I trace them back along the line of distant years I desire to pay a tribute to the worth of his character, and, from a Native point

of view to a great accomplishment during a lifetime. He was the second Native in South Africa to pass the matriculation examination. This was a great effort when Native education was in its infancy. But it was the source from which sprung the passion with which Mr. Jabavu was imbued all his life long for the advancement of education amongst his people

Memory dwells upon these and other incidents as I look back upon them in paying this tribute to our departed friend. I often differed from Mr. Jabavu—I did so acutely during the Boer War, when his views accorded with the English Liberals—the Campbell-Bannerman faction—but I gave him credit for his convictions, which are worthless things if they have neither strength nor courage behind them.

Mr. Jabavu frequently said to me he pinned his faith to men more than to measures. The Hon. J. W. Sauer, the Right Hon. J. X. Merriman, Sir J. Rose-Innes, W. P. Schreiner, Sir R. Solomon and Sir Bisset Berry, these were the men he trusted and trusted utterly. They were his firm friends who took counsel with him on Native matters, and with all of whom he corresponded, and who shall say that he was wrong? For is not the progressive Native policy of the Cape Province, the wisdom and justice of which is now being generally recognised, the results of the efforts and influence of these men and those who acted with them? Mr. Jabavu was closely identified with the inception and later on with the establishment of the Interstate Native College.

I attended his funeral on Sunday last and as I placed a sheaf of white flowers on the bier I thought of my dead friend and all the incidents and episodes of the past, some of which I have endeavoured to briefly pourtray. The obsequies took the form of a "lying in state," as the Natives so wished it, for the coffin after being brought from Alice to King Williamstown, was deposit-

ed in the Wesleyan Church and remained there unclosed. An influential and representative assemblage had gathered from far and near to do honour to the dead. The True Templars, wearing their regalia, attended as a body, for Mr. Jabavu had been a life-long member of the order. During the service and whilst a hymn was being sung the large congregation walked reverently past in single file to take a last look at the calm peaceful face of their friend and leader as he lay in death. The service was conducted by the Rev. J. Pendlebury, B.A., of the Wesleyan Hostel at Fort Hare,—who had come over purposely for it. He gave a beautiful address wherein he fittingly paid tribute to the worth and worthiness of Mr. J. T. Jabavu. He was laid to rest in the presence of a large concourse of mourners in the King Williamstown Cemetery, the coffin being borne by those who volunteered for this last duty and tribute. A long and faithful discharge of duty is a fine memorial. I had this thought in my mind as I wended my way homewards.

The "Christian Express."—His mind at its best was penetrating, acute and powerful, and where adequate knowledge on any question was at his command, he formed his own judgments, and firmly adhered to them. And he had always the courage of his opinions. There was an unchanging, grave dignity about him, which appeared in his speech and demeanour as well as in his writing, and clothed him as a garment. It was characteristic of the honesty of the man that where it was not possible for him to inform himself on a question so as to justify to himself a judgment of his own, he deliberately set himself to support the leader who appeared to have mastered the question and this he did loyally. Perhaps more than to any others, he allied himself to the late Mr. Sauer, Mr. Merriman, the Chief Justice, and Mr. W. P. Schreiner. But the alliance was

not one sided, for these men looked to him for his wise, well informed and far seeing views on many issues.

With a deep steady religious experience, he took a Christian's outlook upon life. There was not in his paper, nor elsewhere any disposition whatsoever to advertise himself, and win influence of sorts by notoriety. His expressions of opinion were marked by moderation, and capacity for seeing the other man's side of the case. He did not believe in violent agitation. Trusting in God's governance of the world he expected reason to prevail and justice, and he sought these ends through co-operation between the two races. His Church connection was Wesleyan, and we believe he filled at one time or another all the offices of his denomination open to laymen.

For the advancement of his people he looked to education more than anything else, and had a remarkable conception of the value of University training, for one who had been denied that privilege. While brought up himself under the old Scotch system, fostered by Mr. Andrew Smith and Mr. Moir, and undoubtedly owing much to its thoroughness and mental discipline, he came to see that out of its proper environment of general knowledge it was not the best system for the Native people; and for the greater part of the last ten years he advocated reform along the lines now taking shape in the new Elementary School Course, his views on the question gradually becoming clearer and more assured. In this connection he sat as a member of the Provincial Education Commission on Native Education of 1919, being with three fellow members the first of the Native people appointed to membership of a Government Commission. But perhaps his greatest service to Native education was rendered in connection with the Native College. From the first day that he envisaged the scheme until the day of his death it commanded all his

strength. He attended Convention after Convention, when the scheme was being thrashed out, never swerving from his insistence that the College must be one for the whole country, in which all the Churches should unite, and that it should aim at nothing short of becoming of University standing, with all the faculties of such. As a member of the Executive, we believe he was never absent from a single meeting of that body, and when a place was given to him on the Governing Council, no call of private business nor even dangerous weakness of health ever prevented him from attending. The rapid progress of the College once it got upon its feet, was possibly the greatest satisfaction and pleasure that his life had ever held. To many of the Native people he stood as it were as the head of the College, which they called *I-Koleji ka Jabavu* (Jabavu's College).

His power as a quiet, thoughtful, effective speaker with audiences of both races, suggested his seeking entrance into the Provincial Council, and he stood for Tembuland. But he was unsuccessful by a small number of votes. This door being closed against him, his friends did not regret as by that time his health was beginning to fail, and what strength there was left to him was otherwise needed. The end was, as we have already said, foreshadowed for a considerable length of time, and the gathering twilight mellowed and softened him. As his friends knew and he knew himself that the call was not far away and might come suddenly, there was a new gentleness and affection in his relationships with them and with colleagues as of those on the eve of taking a long farewell. His removal has left the Native people bereaved of the man who was perhaps the best patriot their race has yet produced.

Mr. R. Tainton Kawa (his earliest teacher) :—

(Translation). The glory of Africa has departed.

Mr. J. T. Jabavu had no peer among Natives in political wisdom and in confidence with his people and those whites who desire the advance of the black race. No man has fought for his people so well as he has done. His aim was that black Africa should strive for its salvation hand in hand with the European. I knew him as a child at school up till he wrote voluminously in the press opposing the wicked policy of the then Government, when Sprigg courted popularity with Europeans, and especially the Dutch by persecuting the Native with the Disarmament Act, Pass Laws and so on. It is because of Jabavu that other evils against the black man were defeated. He wrote to the "Argus" in brilliant style, with a restraint, boldness and patriotism evident to all. In studies he excelled in Mathematics and History, beating two classes above him until he was promoted by Mr. Graham to join Ebenezer Magaba and William Dwane, even then taking top place. He thus continued until he matriculated. From 1898 I did not share his politics. But whether he was right or wrong, Mr. Jabavu always obeyed his own conscience, spoke out and stood by his views even against a thousand men and his best friends. I always admired this self-confidence and tenacity of his. He was also excellent in his true Christianity, with an immaculate moral character worthy of imitation by all young men. His one blemish was his aristocratic pride in his home village of Tyatyora, a fault common to all those who hail therefrom. He was more independent of bribery than any other man I knew, excelling all his contemporaries in this respect. He has raised our prestige as African converts in benignity, love, humility and honesty. In upholding both kingdoms of the Earth and Heaven he was like unto no one else I know. He was head and shoulders above his compeers. His position in politics, in the Wesleyan Conference, in

Educational matters and in the general social welfare of the Native people will never be filled by any single man.

Thou has fought the good fight, O thou hero ! May thy Lord, the Just Judge, crown thee with laurel of Victory ! Rest in peace until you meet your people again for whom you have striven, and whom you have uplifted and defended, on that Great Last Day, that glorious Resurrection Morning.

Rev. A. J. Lennard (President of the Wesleyans 1921.)

Of him it may be truly said "After he had served his own generation by the will of God he fell on sleep." His death will be sincerely regretted by large numbers of Europeans as well as Natives. Few have so successfully interpreted the best thought of Natives to Europeans and of Europeans to Natives ; both sections of the community have been helped by him. Again and again large numbers of our Native people have, to their great gain, followed his wise counsels, even while some have tried to lead them to extremes and others have provoked them. Numerous instances occur to me as I write. I trust that remembering his useful life many will follow his good example, though no one can ever fill his place.

S. E. Mqayi (translated):—"He died happy for he saw the realisation of all the objects he strove for : the education of his son in London, who returned having completed his course and proved a comfort to him ; the success of the Native College. Near the end of his life he pressed me to join the staff of his paper. I was touched by his singing of the hymn "O Holy Spirit, descend on us," in the reception of Rev. C. Mji and by his farewell public address which he made to the Quakers, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander in behalf of the Higher Mission School. "Thou crocodile that fascinates

unto knowledge, so that to-day the land swarms with learned black men.—Thy story is inscribed in papers, in books, in the minds of the young and the old and of thy whole race.”

J. X. Merriman, M.L.A.:—“I have had the pleasure of his acquaintance for many years past [thirty years]; and I have had many opportunities of watching his career. He has done much for the uplift of his race and he has bravely struggled to hold up the light of civilisation in a way which has always been on the path of moderation and duty, under circumstances that were often difficult. Such men as your father will be a public loss, at a time like the present, when many dangers and difficulties beset the cause to which he devoted his talents and energies. I rejoice to think that he has in your person left a worthy successor; and I hope that you may have the strength to carry on his good work for the benefit of South Africa.”

M. Pelem (translated):—“He was a man of men, a man who discovered his true call in life and showed by his patience that God had sent him to the world not to be a burden to others but to alleviate the burdens of his race. I was a fellow student with him under H. W. Graham M.A., where he was originally infected with his love for higher education. He excelled in class not by brilliance but by patience, and an invincible pertinacity after his object. His blood and veins were full of this dauntless spirit to overcome all obstacles in all his enterprises. He furthered his education while at Somerset, and there exhibited his genius for public writing as a correspondent to the “Argus” then edited by Saul Solomon, the greatest defender of the Native in those hostile days of Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Gordon Sprigg. Later he was editor at Lovedale and I remember then urging him to start an independent paper

and not bury himself alive by remaining at a mission press locked out from his true field of politics. It was an intense satisfaction to me that he then undertook to edit "Imvo." In this capacity he excelled all other men in weight before Government circles. No other voice did so much to suppress negrophobism in Europeans in the Cape. Before he began, the black man used to be a play toy in the white press. After his advent, that came to an end. In his aim he always hit the bull's eye. He avoided danger, for even in boyhood he always shrank from harm and rash action. Hence he never led his people into danger. In politics I differed from his theory that the Native must always ride on the white man's back no matter who it be. This is where he lost following with his friends. Nobody, however, is perfect. Hence though I differed from him in politics I am not ashamed to hold him up before my people as an example of a good defender of his people. His greatness is based on the excellent character of his mother. Happy is the man born of a good woman! I remember the hard struggle his mother had, carrying laundry and washing, to get money to educate her son, not so much because she knew the value of a good education but out of religious dutifulness. Would that God would grant us more of such women with a proper sense of their responsibility towards their generation."

SUMMARY OF HIS POLITICAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

Politics had an extreme fascination for Tengo Jabavu right from the early age of eighteen, when he was teacher in Somerset East. In the first place he was fired with a righteous indignation when he heard the Anti-Native speeches made in Parliament by the very members who owed their seats to the Native vote. The Native saw little and heard less about their Parliament-

ary members once the election was concluded. All they remembered was their eloquent speeches in which they promised many good things that they would go and get Government to do for them, lavish gifts of tobacco and beer and their general breezy manner with everybody they met. Many did not see the importance of registering their names as voters although fully qualified.

Although the country today swarms with educated Natives who call themselves "politicians" and "leaders," it is admitted on all hands that Tengo Jabavu was the first and greatest leader of European politics to the Bantu in all South Africa. He first taught them through his writings, lectures and travels,

what the word vote meant;

what its importance was;

how it should be used;

why it should not be given in exchange for semi-bribery favours;

how its strength lay in combined action;

how to select the right type of candidates;

why all qualified Natives should register themselves as voters;

how the vote built up a parliamentary party;

how it thus constituted a powerful weapon in their hands to determine the policy of the Ministry with regard to legislation affecting Native interests;

how the Native vote frequently held the balance of scales in Government majorities;

how it was thus the modern substitute for the antiquated assegai and warfare;

how it was their real voice in parliament for the direction of their own affairs, at the same time obviating the necessity of their going direct into Parliament where they would exert but little personal influence under South African conditions, while at the same time keeping that avenue open for future times when

Natives would in large numbers be sufficiently civilised to render effective parliamentary service for their people.

It was Jabavu who first inculcated these cardinal principles of political wisdom which are now the common property of his people. He was thus truly the political Moses of the Bantu. It was due to this penetrating understanding of the English political machine that he gave his life and soul to all General Elections that occurred within his life time. It was for good reasons, therefore, that Natives followed his guidance for thirty years without question. His declarations on political currents and under currents were always justified by the event and were invested, from the early eighties, with an instinctively prophetic vision. The strings of the Native vote fell deservedly into his manipulation and, in all their campaigns, Premiers of Cape Colony had to reckon with the factor, Jabavu. This is abundantly testified by cartoons in the contemporary English journals in which he was a favourite and the only black man to be caricatured (e.g. the famous cartoon where he was represented as dubiously approaching to take sweets from the hand of smiling Hofmeyr, the Dutch-Bond leader, in whose frock-coat's back pocket sticks out a sjambok and a bottle of dop-brandy!). The old Cape Parliament as well as the Union Assembly has quite a record of political luminaries who were originally brought out from public obscurity and introduced into great political careers by the Native vote, through the wise selection of Tengo Jabavu. His people trusted him implicitly in these matters, and he guided them without a mistake until in the question of Sauer's Natives' Land Act (1913). Even here those who knew him intimately explain, in extenuation, that this error was due rather to declining health and age and not to decreasing love for his people.



WITH WIFE AND BABY BOY (DON), 1885.

He was the first to organise the Bantu and to render them a deciding factor in parliamentary campaigns.

His political creed and faith was that peace, a tranquil national condition, was the first and ultimate objective for sound statesmanship. Therefore he consistently fought against all war and against all movements of the jingo press and politicians calculated to disturb peace in the country. In his wisdom he realised that the Natives, being inferior to Europeans in education and in the arts of civilisation, could never succeed by fighting. They were sure to lose their lands and their nationhood if they crossed swords with white men. It is therefore no wonder that where Jabavu held political sway there has never been any clash of arms with Europeans.

No war has he ever led his people into. On the contrary he has averted many an imminent war, as shown in the previous chapter. In Parliament he allied himself with peaceful politicians like Solomon, Merriman, Sauer, Schreiner, Brabant, Hofmeyr as against Sprigg, Rhodes, Jameson, Bartle Frere, Milner. He believed in men rather than measures. In the Imperial Government, too, he admired Gladstone, Campbell—Bannerman, Sir Michael Hicks Beach, Morley as against Joseph Chamberlain, Salisbury, Balfour.

His creed was moderation of expression and co-operation between Natives and the best of whites, as against senseless extravagance in speech. Long ago did he preach the gospel of co-operation and universal inter-racial brotherhood recently popularised by Dr. Aggrey, as against non-Cooperation and virulent anti-white braggadocio.

His eye for the essential in politics was keen and prophetic, his forecasts usually reliable, and his knowledge of the philosophy of politics, among both white and black in South Africa, profound.

Had there been a Jabavu in each of the northern provinces during the last thirty years doing work of a patriotic character similar to that of our hero it is probable that the attitude of white South Africa would have been generally more reasonable towards the black man than we find it to-day. The influence of Tengo Jabavu contributed more to the present comparatively halcyon situation in the Cape Province than that of any other single individual agent. Through his forceful, wise, diplomatic argument his political activity served to interpret the case of the black man to the white in a perfect degree, as well as to reconcile the black man to British tutelage. He has been the means of enabling the white ruler to know his black protege at his best in intelligent statesmanship. He raised the dignity of black people in the eyes of Europeans out of the depths of contempt up to the pinnacle of respect.

As his political achievements have been largely identical with his life's work described in the preceding chapter, we shall at this juncture only recapitulate the heads of the questions which called forth some of his best work and most effectual political efforts, in the order not of their historical sequence but of their vital importance. The following are those items of service where his intervention was directly decisive:—

1. The Native Disfranchisement Act (Sprigg's Registration Act).

2 Native Pass Laws.

Both of these he jettisoned by means of Hofmeyr's "Removal of Native Disabilities Act, No. 30, 1887" which he personally inspired Hofmeyr to introduce in an interview, when he was sent as deputation along with Rev. Isaac Wauchope and Rev. Elijah Makiwane.

3. The recovery of the lands of the Tembu people in the Glen Grey District.

4. The salvation of Sigcau, Paramount Chief of the Pondos, and the land of Pondoland from military devastation and enforced annexation, on two occasions, 1895 and 1910.
 5. The rescue of Umhlontlo, Chief of the Pandomise, and his peaceful restoration to his land and people.
 6. The release of seven Xosa chiefs: Tini Maqoma, Edmund Sandile, Gungubele, Matanzima, Gumna and two others from penal servitude at Robben Island.
 7. The Rinderpest trouble when Native cattle were being unnecessarily shot down (1896).
 8. The Griqua trouble of Le Fleur with the Baca and the Ama-Zizi.
 9. Sale of Liquor to Natives and its restrictions.
 10. Illegal Bridge Tolls.
 11. Racism.
 12. The Glen Grey Act.
 13. Dalindyebo, Paramount Chief of the Tembus—the plots to dispossess him of territory and to degrade him in his religious connections.
 14. Umhalla, Chief of the Ama-Ndlambe—his restoration to Chieftainship.
 15. Ama-Ntinde, a great Xosa clan adjoining the town of King William's Town—The prevention of a contemplated appropriation of their ancestral land.
 16. William Kama, Chief of the Ama-Gqunukwebe. The salvation of his Forest Lands.
 17. The shooting of Native Labourers in German West Africa and its Stoppage.
 18. Relief of the Barolong Land Trouble in 1911.
 19. Removal of Fingoes to Mashonaland—this plot being arrested.
- In the case of the remaining items "Imvo" put up a strong fight for justice on behalf of Natives and of Peace:—

20. The Bambata Poll Tax Trouble in Natal, 1906,
Dinizulu's case, 1909.
21. War of Umzilikazi—Chief Lobengula of Ama-Ndebele.
22. The Jameson Raid.
23. The Boer War.
24. King Khama's mission to England to oppose the
Introduction of European liquor into his country.
25. The Curfew Bell Law.
26. Exclusion of Natives from using the sidewalks in
towns.

The happy Cape Colony or Cape Province would in all probability have been as miserable a country for Natives to live in as the Transvaal or the Orange Free State, with harassed, and persecuted Natives, if it had not had the good fortune to possess such a stalwart defender from among their own race.

"Blessed is he who has found his work, let him ask no other blessedness."

CHAPTER III.

EDUCATION.

In all his life's activity Tengo Jabavu had three things that he placed in highest estimation: politics, education and religion. Each of these claimed an equal share of his energy, prayer and care. To the ordinary observer it seems that Education is the greatest legacy he has left the Bantu people. Opinions may differ, but it is indisputable that no other single Native has done as much as he did, and that so successfully, to further the cause of Native education. As the inauguration of the South African Native College stands as a signal monument of his aims, desires, schemes and achievement we shall endeavour to trace the history of the share he took in the conception and realisation of this movement, and in its administration when achieved.

The origin of the idea that there should be a University College in South Africa to train Native leaders as well as to provide an opportunity of obtaining a liberal education for those who wish for it, is due to several factors.

Lovedale Institution had for many years created opportunities, independently of Government support, to enable Natives to get a modicum of Higher Education. In the early seventies it had trained its Theological students beyond the Matriculation stage, producing men of the type of Revs. S. P. Sihlali, Elijah Makiwane, Isaac Wauchope, Pambani Mzimba, John Knox Bokwe. The first Native to pass the Matriculation was Sihlali (1880,) the second Jabavu (1883,) the next five being Alexander Tyamzashe (1895), George Tyamzashe (1896), Margaret Makiwane (1897), Marianne Mzimba (1897), Chever Falati (1898), all trained in Lovedale. There have been many Native Matriculants since then who

have followed in the wake of these leaders. In spite of this avenue that lay open to all, a number of natives year by year crossed the Atlantic for the United States of America and great Britain ostensibly to seek Higher Education, yet without having exhausted the education offered in their own land by Lovedale. It was once computed by the Cape Education Department that between ninety and a hundred Native young men had gone to America from Cape Colony alone for education during the period of the ten years 1898-1908. When we reckon with an increasing average and with the additional stream of up-country Natives it is abundantly manifest that hundreds have thus gone overseas. In some cases they imbibed anti-white doctrines. Most people disapproved of this exodus; but it did not occur to them that the only mode to defeat it was to supply the required education within South Africa.

Four events occurred that stirred the thought of the country in the matter and which have eventually proved to be the genesis of the actual propaganda to build some sort of Higher Education institution for Natives. In 1901 Tengo Jabavu, in view of the foreshadowed discontinuation of the Matriculation class at Lovedale endeavoured to get his son Davidson Don (then studying at Lovedale in the "School Elementary" class) admitted as a Day Scholar at Dale College, King Williamstown on the ground of being a burgess and ratepayer in the town. The application was courteously refused but its publication in "Imvo" provoked a controversy in the whole press of the country. A few cuttings of this have happily been preserved. They speak for themselves:—

The Grahamstown *Penny Mail* of 9th October, 1901,
under an article headed

TENGO JABAVU'S SON,

says:—

Wishing to place his son in Dale College as a pupil, Tengo Jabavu made application to that effect to the Committee of Management of that famous educational institution in King Williamstown. The authorities, in reply, intimated that they could not comply with his request, for the following reasons:—

“We cannot look upon your son's case as exceptional and isolated, or assume that your application is unlikely to be followed by others; on the contrary, if we admit him we must be prepared to receive other applications of the same kind. Thus the whole question of mixed schools would be introduced. Necessarily, therefore, in the interests of the school, we have to guard against any course of action which would interfere with its prosperity or mar its usefulness.”

Jabavu's reply to this, in the columns of the “Cape Mercury,” is very sensible, and ends with a practical suggestion, which the Dale College authorities might do well to adopt. He says:—

“The Dale College Committee has under it, if I mistake not, two branches already—the English Branch School and the German Branch School, and in fairness to us natives they might consider a scheme of a Native Branch, with which I, for one at least, would be satisfied. It will be said natives have their own institutions, like Lovedale and mission schools. But the education given in them is not fixed by statute as is the case with that given in public schools. It is left to the whims and caprice of the Education Office and the missionary whom it controls through grants, and at present the Department does not countenance work on the lines prescribed by the University even from the very start; and it is here that the shoe pinches.”

The *Uitenhage Times* is quite candid:—The authorities of Dale College, King Williamstown, have been unable to accede to Mr. Tengo Jabavu's application for the admission of his son as a student in that institution. The committee do so with regret, and assign as their reason that they fear the result would be injurious to the school. That is quite probable, and the youth himself would likely do better by pursuing his studies elsewhere—at Lovedale, for example, which is after all the high school for Natives. Mr. Jabavu, we think, was ill-advised in making his application at all. He might have known that the request was one which no institution like Dale College could entertain. And the refusal of the school committee cannot give righteous offence to the Natives themselves, who must know that our social system does not at present admit of innovations like that which Mr. Jabavu's request involved.

The *Daily Dispatch* is sane:—

A TEST CASE.

The recent application made by Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu to have his son accepted as a scholar of Dale College has raised a nice point in educational matters. The Dale College Committee, in a very ably-written letter, expressed their inability to comply with the applicant's request, on the grounds that if his son were admitted to the College, it might reasonably be supposed that other requests from natives for similar privileges would follow, and the establishment would become a school for both races, a result which would materially "interfere with its prosperity and mar its usefulness among those who vastly preponderate in the community." In a private school the solution would be an easy one—a refusal to accept would end the matter. But Dale College is a public

school, and as such though intended, of course, for European boys, is open to the sons of all residents in the country. There cannot be any doubt as to the truth of the reasons given by the Committee for declining the request—that the prosperity and usefulness of the school would be marred. On the admission of even a single native youth to the College, many parents would at once withdraw their sons, and if other such admissions were granted, as no doubt would be the case if a precedent were established, the status of the school would rapidly degenerate from that of a first-class school to that of a mission school. With this in view, the Committee of a school which is established to promote the interests of higher education in the community, could have given no other reply to Mr. Jabavu's request. Yet, even if natives were admitted to a school for European children, and supposing that none of the results we have mentioned came to pass, that there were no withdrawals, and that the school suffered no loss of prestige, we scarcely think that the life of the handful of native youths among a crowd of European boys in a Colonial school would be a happy one. The hardships endured by the fags at English public schools under the old regime would be nothing compared with those that the unfortunate native youngsters would have to undergo. If the native were sent to some school in Great Britain, he would in all probability have an excellent time, for there appears to be at Home a strange glamour about our dark-skinned brethren. But such is far from being the case in the Colonies. Few employers of labour can equal the average Colonial boy in imperiousness and domineering manner where natives are concerned, and we are certain that the existence of native scholars in a European school would soon prove such a misery to them that they would beg to be released from the unequal contest and

sent to finish their education at an institution for students of their own race. If there were no such native institutions, we could more readily sympathise with Mr. Jabavu in his desire that his son should enjoy the advantages of a good education. But there are several establishments for natives where the very best education may be obtained, and where the teachers, by long experience, are able to present their subjects of instruction to their scholars in the manner most readily grasped by the native mind. With such schools open to him, we cannot understand why Mr. Jabavu should wish to send his son to a European school. As the Committee said in their letter, the time is not yet ripe for such an innovation as a school for both races. To us it is hard to think that the time will ever be ripe. But certainly till that time arrives, the Committee of a public school are fully justified in declining to comply with such a request as was made to the Dale College Committee. (4th September 1901.)

A reasonable comment is made by the *Cape Argus* (9th October 1901,) on a resolution by the Diocesan Synod:—

EDUCATION AND COLOUR.

The Diocesan Synod are to be congratulated upon a wise and guarded attitude in regard to higher education for the coloured races, which came before them in the report by the Diocesan Committee on Education. Evidently the committee had noticed the case of Mr Tengo-Jabavu's son, whose admittance into Dale College, King William's Town, had been declined by the school authorities for reasons already well known. "While expressing no opinion (says the report) on the matter the Board would nevertheless say that it was of opinion that children of coloured parents if they prove worthy of it, should have the same facilities for high education

that were provided for the white children." If by "the same" facilities is meant, as doubtless it is meant, "like" and not "identical" facilities, there can be no objection. Under British administration all races have equal privileges, but no true friend of the coloured section would desire that there should be a mixture of races in our schools. With the development of South Africa, which is certain to follow the war, more coloured candidates for higher education are sure to present themselves, and it is well to be forearmed so far as the policy to be adopted is concerned. Hitherto the need has been met by Institutions such as Lovedale, and we see no reason why the difficulty should not be met in the future by like means. A moment's thought will show that for the sake of the coloured races themselves, a mixture would be undesirable in the highest degree, if not actually repugnant.

The *Cape Times* of 14th September, 1901, reports a sermon by Mr. W. B. Shaw, in the course of which he sympathetically says,

"The recent conduct of the trustees of Dale College in refusing to admit to that Institution as a student on account of his colour the son of Tengo Jabavu, one of Africa's best and most advanced citizens, is directly opposed to the Gospel of Paul and the professed doctrine of the catholicity of the Christian religion."

The lad was eventually sent to England in April 1903, on the recommendation of Mr. I. Bud-Mbelle, who suggested a suitable boarding School at Colwyn Bay, North Wales, where he remained until he matriculated at London University in 1906, and then resided in London to complete his degree.

In 1903 the "South African Native Affairs Commission," no doubt influenced by the storm of con-

troversy just referred to, and the great Native exodus to America and England, incorporated under Section 342. c. of its famous report the following recommendation :—

“That a Central Native College or similar Institution be established and aided by the various States, for training Native teachers, and in order to afford opportunities for higher education to Native students.”

On 21st December, 1905, Dr James Stewart, Founder of Lovedale Missionary Institution, died. Long before his lamented demise he had frequently expressed his wish that there should be established a higher-education College for Natives :—

“At the present time there are many indications that in Native higher education another step forward will have to be taken. The highest course open to a Native at the present time is that which prepares him for the Matriculation Examination of the Cape University. Many Natives also pass through the Normal classes of the Cape Education Department which form a less ambitious but in some respects more practical course than the other. Neither of these courses, however, is specially adapted for Natives. They are the ordinary courses taken by Europeans. The present situation may be put briefly thus:—The Natives are asking for something higher than either of these courses and are going to America in order, they say, to obtain what they want. For our part, we think that, as a matter both of justice and of policy, they should have something higher provided in this country..... It is plain that if any existing Institution were to remodel its work so as to meet the requirements of the present situation, and so as to provide for still further advance in the future, *it would require for this especial purpose substantial support from the state*, and a guarantee that such support would be continued.

That being so, the question arises, would it not be well for the state to invite the co-operation of all the Missionary Societies and Churches interested in the Natives, and also of the Natives themselves, in order to establish a central College, which would provide the advanced education that is wanted?.....An inter-State College, having its own curricula and its own Board of Examiners, would be in a position to study experimentally the whole subject of Native education, and to guide the evolution of a system suited to the needs, present and future, of the race. Its immediate aim would be to train higher grade teachers, interpreters, hospital and sanitary assistants, Native ministers and evangelists—the theological teaching being left in the hands of the various churches—and also to give to the sons of chiefs an education suited to their position and intended to fit them to wield wisely their great influence over their people."—*Christian Express*, October 1905.

Not long before his passing away the Doctor had Jabavu by his bed side and enjoined him to work for the realisation of a College on the above lines, pointing out that it might be possible to buy out Lovedale itself and convert it into the intended Inter-State College. These instructions, as we shall see later, were never forgotten.

In 1906 the movement for the establishment of a College advanced rapidly, Natives holding conversations throughout Cape Colony and discussing ways and means for advancing the cause. Fortunately about this time a generous sympathiser, Mr. John Stephen, of East London, brother-in-law of Dr. Stewart, gave £500 to be utilised as a propaganda fund. Tengo Jabavu was among those selected to travel and give lectures to further the project. In this way he held

meetings in most of the important centres in Cape Colony during April and May and reached Kimberley, Bloemfontein, Maseru (Basutoland), where he and Dr. Macvicar addressed the Basuto Council ("Pitso") who welcomed the scheme, promising £6,000. Thence he went on to Gaberones, Mafeking (May 2nd) and Pietersburg in the Zoutspanberg district of Northern Transvaal. Everywhere he went he held interviews with Government officials and authorities to enlist their sympathy and interest in the scheme.

Following up the recommendation of the S. A. Native Affairs Commission, the Natives, largely through the propaganda of Jabavu in the "*Imvo*" and in his travels, organised a petition to his Excellency the High Commissioner upon the subject of the proposed Inter-State Native College.

THE FIRST CONVENTION 1905.

For this purpose they met in a great Covention at Lovedale on the 28th and 29th of December 1905, there being 160 delegates representing all denominations, all the states and Basutoland.

In the proceedings Tengo Jabavu moved this resolution:—"The Convention would respectfully draw the attention of the South African Governments to the suitability of Lovedale as the site of the proposed College and expresses its wish that the Lovedale Institution should be nationalised in this way. The Convention feels that this would be the consummation of Dr. Stewart's life work and policy."

Speaking to his motion he explained how he had attempted to get his son admitted to the Dale College, K. W. T. and how the College authorities, while expressing their regret, had declined to admit his boy on the ground that if they did so, many European parents would remove their sons from the College. "My boy

is now at College in England" he continued, "I had no wish to send him there, but I had no other choice. I have three other boys. What am I to do with them? Am I to go to the great expense of sending them also to England? It is very far from my wish that they should go either to America or England. They may come back with ideas that will unfit them for their life here. This resolution is a new resolution. It has just been added to the others. It is added as a result of my recent journey to the Transvaal. I went there expecting to meet with much opposition, because in the Transvaal very little is done for Native education, even for elementary education. As for the Government, I expected nothing. I expected that they would be attending to the white people's educational requirements only. But I was quite surprised to find at all my interviews with the authorities, including members of the Government at Pretoria and including the High Commissioner, Lord Selborne, that there was a favourable spirit and much sympathy expressed. Among both the Natives and the missionaries the scheme found hearty acceptance, with the result that the Petition has already been largely signed in the Transvaal.

I found Sir Godfrey Lagden most sympathetic and anxious to see the proposal carried out. He further gave some advice as to how it should be gone about. I showed him the petition. He said, Did we not think there would be much trouble and delay if a new site were decided on? The building of a College like this would take years. He thought we should first look at the present Institutions and see whether we could not find one that has buildings and lands suitable!

I told him we had ourselves been thinking of Lovedale. I told him that Natal young men were being educated here, Zoutpansberg young men, Rhodesia and Bechuana young men—all tribes are already getting their educa-

tion here. Here also are young men of all denominations. This is so because of the attitude of Dr. Stewart who did not refuse applicants but received all that came, until this place became what you now see it, a great and beautiful place. I said, Let us try and secure this place.

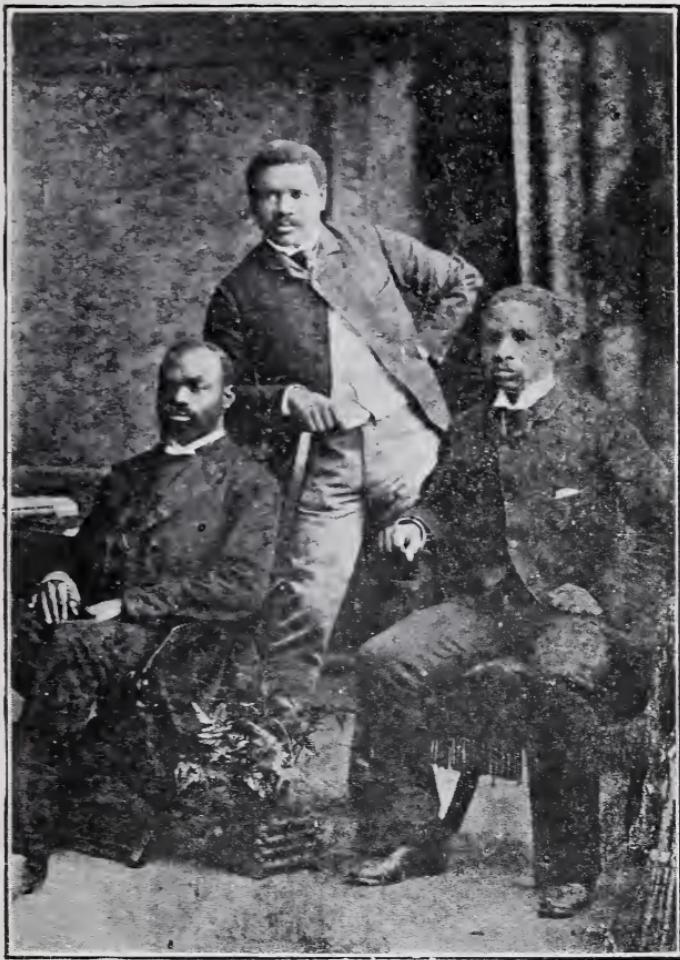
It is known to all Europeans that this is at present the best place for Native education. Even if you are taught at other Institutions it is credited to Lovedale. And if any educated Native behaves badly anywhere it is set down to Lovedale, no matter where he may have been educated. This is the well known place, known throughout the whole world, and it is all through the labours of Dr. Stewart.

Some may say the site is not central enough. That to me is not a serious difficulty, now that the railway is open and travelling is easy.

This does not mean that we intend to close other Institutions. If it were so, I should not be here to speak in favour of this Institution, because as regards denomination, I belong to another denomination, Wesleyan. I am not afraid that this will destroy our Institutions. Our Wesleyan leaders, and others said this College would be their great help in educating a ministry and it must be undenominational and under Christian control.

I would not go into detail about buildings. It is proposed that all the denominations should have their own boarding houses. As for the school we want it to be a Public School and undenominational.

I say then that this resolution has resulted from my journey to the Transvaal. I was asked 'How are you to start this Inter-State College?' and when I said we thought of buying Lovedale the people were very pleased and even the Government Officials had the same opinion. They said that would simplify the establishment of the College.



REV E. MAKIWANE, J. T. J., REV. I. WAUCHOPE,
Native Voters' Deputation, 1888.

I now refer to the last sentence. That this would fulfil the aim and object of Dr. Stewart. I am telling you of what I know. I came and saw him when he was on his sickbed. He told me that this place must be for all denominations, all states, all tribes, and he was very sorry that he was not well and not able to take action himself and secure the support of all places and all denominations. This he considered a very friendly scheme on the part of the Governments, a scheme to show that we were loved, a scheme to make a preparation for the coming generation.

I hope that this meeting will adopt this plan and that it will be decided to buy this place so that the work of that great man will not stand still. I am strong in my attitude because I know that I am fulfilling Dr. Stewart's wish. Otherwise I should not have the courage to place this matter before you."

The motion was carried by 62 votes to 8.

Five months afterwards he delivered a brilliant statesmanlike speech in the Wesleyan Conference at Cape Town in connection with the first resolution by which his denomination identified itself with the College scheme. The speech is quoted in the next chapter on his Religious work.

In and out of season did he push the College scheme in the "*Imvo*" until that paper was eventually looked upon as the mouthpiece of the College and the Institution itself as *I Koliji ka Jabavu* among Natives in the Cape Colony and Natal, and *Sekolo sa Jabavu* in Basutoland, and in the Dutch Republics.

In Transkei his influence was powerful and he used it to effective purpose; for two of his closest personal friends Rev. Ben S. Mazwi and Mr. Patrick T. Xabanisa respectively proposed and seconded, in the Transkeian Territories General Council, the epoch making resolution that £10,000 be voted in support of the College

scheme! This was passed and with the help of Col. W. E. Stanford, the Chief Magistrate and chairman of the Council, all obstacles were surmounted and the £10,000 was ultimately actually paid. Without this sum of money the Native College would in all probability have been to this day merely a vague abstraction and a matter for academic discussion. It was this substantial and unconditional donation that transmuted the project into a practical reality.

The *Imvo* of 5th February 1907 has the following leader on this epochal act of munificence (for which quotation we are indebted to the volumes of the *Christian Express*) :—

£10,000 for the COLLEGE.

The vote of ten thousand pounds which after full and long discussion of the Scheme, was passed last week by the Transkeian Territories General Council, in support of the establishment of the Inter-State Native College, is a fact of wide-reaching importance. Apart from the great pleasure and encouragement it will give to the indefatigable promoters of the scheme, both white and black, who, in spite of difficulties of every conceivable and inconceivable kind, have steadily kept at the work of enlightening and quickening the minds of all upon its aims and aspirations, and now see the fruits of their labours ; and in addition to the satisfaction it will give to every Native who realises the value of education and is seeking its promotion among his own people, it is a vote pregnant with meaning.

It is a proof—if proof were needed—that, given a means whereby they may express themselves, the Natives as a whole will shew themselves to be possessed of that sound commonsense and well balanced judgment that enables a man, a tribe, a race to throw their influence upon the side of what is for their highest good.

It is no secret that influences are at work among the Natives which seek to alienate them from their European

friends and implant in their minds a distrust of all Government proposals whether framed for their benefit or not. It is no less a secret that similar influences have caused serious trouble in many of the missions among Natives and may lead to further disorganisation in the future. The Transkeian General Council, speaking on behalf of fourteen of the most progressive districts in the country, by the voice of some of the ablest Natives among us has, perhaps unconsciously, perhaps not, repudiated these influences of which we speak, and in giving such generous assistance toward the establishment of the Inter-State Native College its members have shown their confidence in the Government and individual Europeans who, under the inspiration of one "who being dead yet speaketh," sought by furthering the scheme to carry out what they regarded as a sacred trust from himself. It augurs well for the future happiness of the country that the generosity of our European friends and the good intentions of the Government have met with such a liberal response and recognition at the hands of the only representative and executive Native body that exists in the country. Colonel Stanford may well feel satisfied that his optimism and belief in the willingness of the Native to co-operate with those entrusted with the scheme has been so amply justified, and we may remind these latter that they could have found no other advocate more acceptable and more fully trusted by the Natives than the Secretary to the Native Affairs Department.

We congratulate the members of the General Council upon the credit they have done themselves by such a vote, and we congratulate every worker and sympathiser of the Inter-State Native College Scheme, on having brought it within sight of its realisation.

Just as Tengo Jabavu was for many years politically alternating between the offensive and the defensive as

against Sprigg and the Government, equally so did he assume now the attack and now the defence as against Dr. Muir and his conduct of the Cape Education Department with reference to Native education and the Native College. The *Education Gazette* of 31st January, 1907, contained a stinging attack on Native Education and the Inter-State College movement, in answer to which Jabavu characteristically gave the *Gazette* a Roland for its Oliver, defending the College scheme.

For both quotations we are again indebted to the records of the *Christian Express* :—

(1) *Education Gazette*, 31 January, on

NATIVE HIGHER EDUCATION.

In view of all that has been said and written during the past year on the subject of an Inter-State Native College, it is interesting to inquire how many Natives have at the recent university examinations qualified themselves for participating in a College course. If we may with safety judge of the race to which the candidates belong by the character of the names they bear, the answer to this enquiry obtained from the matriculation list is disappointing in the extreme, not a single Native having been successful in the examination. Where the students of the Inter-State College are to come from is thus a mystery. It has to be remembered, too, that the latest matriculation list is not less hope-giving in this respect than a number of its predecessors : we shall be surprised indeed if on examination of the last ten lists the average number of the Natives matriculating per annum be found to reach unity. This discouraging state of affairs is not due to want of facilities for being trained in matriculation work, the Lovedale Institution having for years maintained a teaching staff at considerable expense, for this purpose. As a matter of fact during the year just ended the

number of Native students in the Lovedale matriculation class was at least 5, for 5 entered for the examination, with the result above indicated. The plain truth is that what the Natives have got to give serious attention to for some considerable time, is common school education; and in the way of this no barriers have been or will be placed, it being understood of course that the financial obligations binding on other sections of the community will not be shirked. If for any cause the classes for the High School Standards C and D at Lovedale be unsuitable, there is no reason why a central High School should not be at once established to supplement them or take their place. Further, such a High School should be the natural nucleus of the College of the future.

(2) *Imvo*, 12th February, 1907.

DEPARTMENT AND COLLEGE.

Elsewhere in this impression is reproduced an article from the *Education Gazette*, which is an insidious attack on the proposed Inter-State Native College Scheme. The *Education Gazette* voices the opinions of that bureaucratic institution, the Cape Education Department, and it is an open secret that, under its present head, Natives have no greater enemy. Well may they long for the return of the benign and beneficent administration of Dr. Rose-Innes and Sir Langham Dale, when the course of Native education was liberal, free, uninterrupted.

The present attack on the Native College movement, and consequently on Native education, is at once subtle and clever, delivered from a masked battery. It partakes of the form of affected interest for the abject condition of the victims of the Native Education policy of the Department.

Natives are crowded over because they make no appearance at the Matriculation Examination. The Depart-

ment cynically puts it: "Where the students of the Inter-State College are to come from is a mystery." The Education Department but throws dust into the eyes of the public in writing thus: and that with the sole object of prejudicing the case for the Inter-State College. It knows as well as we do that it has placed all sorts of difficulties in the way of Native Institutions in the direction of taking up University work in any shape or form, be it how elementary soever. And for it now to ask for the passes in the University work is on a par with shutting one in a dark chamber and kicking him for not seeing.

Lovedale is referred to as an Institution where for years a teaching staff has been maintained at considerable expense for this purpose; but the writer might as well have stated the fact that this staff has not received a cent in the way of a grant-in-aid from the Department, in pursuance of its anti-Native policy; and not only so, but it has been hampered in regard to the earlier stages of work for Matriculation in order that the results now asked for might be futile. For the Department of Education in these circumstances to come forward and literally gloat over the Natives for their failure is to add insult to injury; and our people long for the day when that Department of State will be so reformed as to be in sympathy with their feelings and aspirations.

The article concludes with a suggestion that a Central High School for Natives might be established, and that "such a High School would be the natural nucleus of the College of the future." Now, this is admirable. The Natives and their friends are not going to quarrel over a name, as a rose under any name smells the same. The promoters of the Inter-State Native College are not fanatical enough to suppose that they will all at once have matriculated students galore ready to proceed to degrees and what not. They are well aware that their

College will of necessity, owing to the Native education policy in vogue, begin with High School work. Hence the wisdom of their policy to arrange a course that will be capable of development. Such being the avowed objects of the promoters from the very start, the Department might well have sympathetically co-operated with them to achieve these desirable ends; instead, it has thwarted them in every possible direction.

During the same year he served the College scheme in the capacity of Joint Secretary along with Mr. K. A. Hobart Houghton, when these two, with the Chairman and Treasurer, counter-signed a document appealing for public contributions towards the required £50,000, dated 25th February.

On October 2nd, 3rd & 4th a Conference of Representatives of the monies contributed towards the establishment of the College was held. Questions of site, control, curriculum, were discussed and an Executive Board, which included the name of Jabavu, was appointed to give effect to the resolutions passed by the Conference. This Executive Board was destined to work for nine years and finally to open the College in 1916, when it became superseded by the present Governing Council.

In his addresses to the Conference he lucidly explained his conception of Higher Education and gave sound reasons why he preferred the site of Lovedale to others that had been suggested (such as Bloemfontein, Transkei, and Basutoland.)

He is reported in the minutes thus:

(a) Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu was also called upon to address the Conference, and in doing so expressed the indebtedness of the Conference to the Minister for Agriculture, who was also the Minister in charge of Education, for his presence amongst them, as thereby the Government had identified itself with the scheme.

The presence of Col. Crewe and Col. Stanford was very gratifying to them all. Referring to the remarks which had been made, he thought Mr. Mamba had struck the right note when he referred to the remodelling of the Native course. In his school days, they were never allowed to see an English text book until they could read and thoroughly master their own language. But now what was the case? There was his own son, who, although he had recently passed the School Higher examination, was unable to take part in the reading of the Scriptures in his own language at family worship.

There was one point in regard to which he was afraid he had to differ from Col. Crewe. Col. Crewe had said that education should commence at the bottom and work upwards. He (Mr. Jabavu) rather preferred Dr. Stewart's maxim, that education should work from above downwards. They must have men with the higher education to teach and uplift the masses. Light came from above.

He did not believe in anything half-way between the elementary education and higher education. The Native teachers produced by the present system were the bane of Native education. A half education left men ignorant of their real position and made them conceited and presumptuous. A really educated Native knew his place and how to act towards his superiors and also towards his inferiors, if he had any. He (Mr. Jabavu) had not been to any College; he had picked up what little of higher education he possessed by private study. But that education had been sufficient to make him able to recognise his own position, and that realisation of his own position gave him a proper regard for his European friends around him which he could not have had if he had not been sufficiently educated. Education would humble their people and the more humble the leaders were the better would be the effect on the generality of Natives.

(b) Mr. Jabavu, after expressing his regret that the recommendations of the Committee had not been introduced by someone, and the reasons which had weighed with the Committee, explained, saying that one argument of the Committee was that Lovedale was central for the educational Institutions for Natives in the country. The work of educating the Natives had been done largely in this Colony, and there were Institutions for that purpose dotted about. Some East of Lovedale, and others to the West, and it was felt that these were to be feeders of this central Institution. It was central in the sense that it would draw the work of other Institutions and take those students who had finished their course at the intermediate institutions, and do higher work, and for that reason, it was considered to be most suitable. Further, the fact that Lovedale had been the pioneer institution in Native education in South Africa, and was so known throughout the civilised world, was a consideration taken notice of by the Committee. Another reason was that this Institution should be near those who would take an interest in it. The Mayor of King William's Town had expressed a wish that it should be in King William's Town, and if they said King William's Town was to be the situation he personally would be pleased, but who was there in King William's Town who would take as much interest in the Institution as at Lovedale? The situation was healthy and in every way he was strongly of opinion that the Conference could not do better than adopt the recommendation.

In 1908 he was a member of a deputation that waited on the Prime Minister, J. X. Merriman, on 14th March, the object being to ascertain to what extent the Cape Government was prepared to give practical assistance in the founding and maintenance of the College. Mr. Merriman, says the "*Christian Express*," received the

deputation most sympathetically and promised that he would take the earliest opportunity of bringing the question of the Cape Colony's share of annual maintenance before his Cabinet. He also indicated that the matter would be discussed at the approaching Inter-Colonial Conference, and gave the deputation grounds for believing that within the next four months sufficient support would have been guaranteed by some or all of the self-governing Colonies to justify the early erection of buildings.

The "*Imvo*" of June the same year announced that the Cape University had appointed Rev. Prof. Marais and the Hon. W. P. Schreiner M.A., M.L.A. to the prospective Council of the Native College and expressed thanks to the University on behalf of the Native people "for the impetus and encouragement they have thus given to the establishment of the Inter-State Native College."

SECOND CONVENTION 1908.

On Wednesday July 1st, the second Convention of representative Natives from all parts of South Africa assembled at Lovedale, there being 173 delegates, selected in most cases by local committees, that had, since the previous Convention, been in existence for the purpose of collecting funds and increasing interest in the scheme.

In the proceedings Tengo Jabavu moved "That the name of the College be the 'Inter-State Native College'" and, in reply to an objector who doubted Government support said "the matter was already in the hands of the several States. It had been discussed at the recent Inter-Colonial Conference. It was grouped with such subjects as Customs and Railways. They had students from all the States. The Cape Colony Exchequer, in supporting the present Institutions, was

relieving the taxpayers in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony. The College aimed at serving the interests of students of all tribes." He accepted an amendment put forward by Bishop Cameron and Rev. J. Henderson that the Executive Board be asked to change the name as soon as it was expedient to do so to 'South African Native College.'

Jabavu then moved the next resolution "That grants of land be given in perpetuity by the College Council to any Church or Union of Churches wishing to build a hostel and fulfilling certain conditions as to the size and character of the buildings, the use to which the buildings are devoted and the discipline and control of the hostel"—this was passed unanimously.

He also moved the resolution :

"That the College shall from the commencement adapt itself to the existing educational needs of the country and, proceeding where necessary upon tentative lines, be developed into a College of recognised University standing."

Speaking to the motion he said "some people thought it was absurd to speak of a College in connection with Natives, because a College meant an Institution working for degrees, and there were not many matriculated Natives. They had to start where the present Institutions left off. The present Institutions restricted their work to the Normal course. The Education Department wanted all of them to become teachers. Lovedale had with great difficulty provided other facilities, but the Education Department would not give a single sixpence to anything except their own Normal Course."

Next, the resolution of the King William's Town Conference concerning the control of the College was moved by Mr. Jabavu and seconded by Mr. Wauchope: "That the College at the commencement shall be under the control of a Council consisting of European and

Native representatives of the original contributors, representatives of all Governments providing annual subsidies ; of South African University representatives ; of representatives of participating Churches ; of a representative or representatives of secondary schools preparing students for the entrance examination ; that the head of the College shall be ex-officio a member of the Council ; and that the Council have plenary powers to deal with the curricula, finance, and general management of the College.”

In support of this motion, during discussion, he said, “that no doubt for some purpose, the present matriculation and some other certificates were useful, but he looked forward to the College preparing men for a variety of occupations as openings presented themselves. The College needed freedom to do this. The training given in the College would be of no use to students unless it fitted them for the different occupations open to them in the country. He hoped to see the District Councils and other Natives employing the men whom the College turned out. Unless the College courses were adapted to the needs of the country the students would get no work. A man could not live on certificates !”

Eventually the resolution was agreed to unanimously. The nomination of two delegates to appear before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Native Education was the proceeded with and Messrs Sihlali and Jabavu were elected.

The year 1909 kept the minds of all concentrated on the Act of Union, the Natives on the Colour Bar clause that necessitated Jabavu’s going to England with a deputation. In 1910 Jabavu ably defended the College in a leader in “*Imvo*” (October) in the course of which he outlined his conception of the policy of the proposed College :—

Some of our European neighbours are in great fear regarding the Native College. They know that knowledge is strength; and wishing,—in their own interest they think,—to keep the Native perpetually in subjection, they believe that to achieve their end, they must keep such an Institution as the College away from him. The fallacy in this reasoning lies in the belief that the mere fact of the establishment of a Native College necessarily means that every one of the five million sable South Africans will, heigh presto, have a College education, and thus be serious competitors to the white community. Well, were this possible it would be a miracle. It has not happened in other countries, and there is not the slightest fear of its taking place here. A Bloemfontein contemporary is ever at pains to call attention to statistics of Native and White children in schools in the Cape Province, showing a large preponderance of the former in the enrolment, and pointing to the fact as an ugly portent for the Europeans. If it knew that these figures are not of to-day, but have been so for decades past, our "Friend" would possess its soul in perfect tranquility. Except in rare circumstances, the education of the Native child does not produce the results that the education of the European produces. The Native has, with the same amount of education that is given him, so much leeway, socially and economically, to make up, that the comparison of the results is quite out of the question, and will be so we believe for years and years to come. For what, then, is the College required? the ignorant opponent of Native education will readily ask. And our ready reply is, it is required to fully qualify the handful who are to labour among the mass of their people as uplifters—missionaries, teachers and leaders along right lines. For the danger of the country both for white and black, is in the unenlightened Native

masses being led by blind leaders, or, worse still, by leaders with mental eyes so insufficiently opened as only to be able to see "men like trees." The dangers of half-education long postulated in regard to other communities, applies equally to the Natives also. In this connection we cannot linger too long in pondering the Great Master's dictum regarding the blind leaders of the blind with the inevitable appalling catastrophe of both falling into the abyss. The instituting of the College, then, is, in view of these and other facts, an urgent public necessity, both in the interests of white and black in this country. And so convinced have been the Natives of this that they had already begun to send a stream of such as were ready for better education, to fit them to labour in uplifting their countrymen, to other countries, and they will resort to this more largely in the future if the one institution they desire here is denied them. We have no reason to think that the statesmen who compose the Union Government will be so short-sighted as not to perceive these and other considerations, or fail to do themselves lasting credit by heading and directing the movement that common-sense and wise policy at once command and command.

In the same year he took a step that eventually proved to be the basis of the present Agricultural Faculty of the Native College. Mr Hector Alexander Shaw B.Sc., the teacher of Agriculture at Lovedale was under notice to leave because the Department of Agriculture had decided to withdraw its grant. Jabavu penned an effective leading article in the *Imvo* making a strong plea for the reinstation of this lecturer, the article ending thus: "We would earnestly plead with the Prime Minister, who is also Minister of Agriculture, to reconsider, if it be true he had already considered the question of making the grant required to encourage the

Native students at Lovedale who are availing themselves of Agricultural lectures, and not brave their bitter disappointment and that of their parents, friends and tutors at the untimely curtailment of their work. We appeal with confidence to General Botha, as we are assured he is a gentleman largely endowed with a vast amount of common sense as well as a keen sense of justice."

Unbounded was his delight when, while in England attending the Universal Races Congress, he was the recipient of an official letter through Rev. J. Henderson informing him that as a result of the intercession of the *Imvo* the Premier had reconsidered the position and decided to continue the Grant on condition that the class shall be taken over to the proposed Native College whenever it opened and that, if possible, an American Negro from Tuskegee, Alabama U.S.A. familiar with the Dry Farming system be employed.

This lectureship in Agriculture was actually transferred to the College and is to-day the means of imparting the principles of Agriculture to all the students, training professional Demonstrators in Agriculture and running the College Farm.

In July 1911, as a delegate to the Universal Races Congress in London he read a paper on the "Native Races of South Africa" which concluded thus:—

"The question of what can be done to uplift the Bantu is of great importance to the interests of all in South Africa, as the influence of race acts and re-acts mutually. The hope seems to be in education. Education of a kind there is. It is occasionally advertised by imposing statistics, but it is feared much of it is of the character which gives painful demonstration of the dangers of a little education. Nor is the bulk of its recipients keen on acquiring and profiting by it. The solution of the

problem seems to consist in instructing the masses in the vernacular, while concentrating on the few who are to be the leaders and uplifters of the rest. Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale fame, was wont to say "Light came from above," meaning that the masses were to be enlightened and helped by certain educated luminaries of their race; and the immediate task was to train and equip such, well. The efficacy of this policy is demonstrated by a native, here and there, who has outstripped his fellows after breaking the chains of environment and drinking deep in education. Such have made a favourable impression not only on their fellows, but also on their European neighbours. They have, moreover, proved, beyond the shadow of doubt, that if a Native College were, (as is proposed), established to provide a hundred or two well-educated instructors of their people, what looked like an insoluble problem would disappear. On this head a coloured writer recently said:—

"What we have to do is to act for ourselves. In proportion, as our facilities for education are diminished, our efforts on our own behalf must be increased. We must, individually and collectively, do our utmost to see that our people receive the fullest opportunity possible for self-improvement What we want is a large body of highly trained educationalists of our own people, and these could be gradually secured if we had a fund for assisting deserving young men to obtain the necessary assistance at some qualified College."

But the College is the pressing need, and the Universal Races Congress has a capital opportunity to give needed help to their weaker brothers in South Africa by espousing and furthering the appeal of the South African Native Races for the raising of the remaining £10,000 to train native talent for the great task of uplifting its people. The sum required for the establishment of the College, even on a moderate scale, is £50,000.



J. T. J., REV. J. MAHONGA, MR. H. KALIPA,
Glen Gray Lands Deputation, 1891.

Including the value of the site, the following amounts have been already received or promised :—

From European Sources	£22,500
From Native Sources	17,750
		Total	£40,250

A further sum of £10,000 is thus required.

There is now, as has been said, a pressing need of adequate provision for the training of Native teachers for secondary and higher education for Natives capable of taking advantage of it. Such teachers cannot secure the required training in South Africa, and have to look to England and America, a system which has been found disadvantageous. The old tribal system is breaking down. With it go the wholesome restraints of tribal law and custom and morality. The results have already been extremely disastrous. Many Natives have been demoralised and ruined, and the effects on the white community have been scarcely less deplorable. At this stage the guidance which really educated natives would be able to give to their people might well be of great value. These natives might train their people to meet the new conditions of civilised life, teaching them also improved methods of agriculture and industry.

If the first Races Congress succeeds in helping on the inauguration of the first Native College in South Africa, it will impress itself indelibly on the future of the aboriginal races, as having thrown itself heartily into the laudable effort of ushering in the Dawn, into what has long remained in truth the Dark Continent."

For about two years after this the realisation of the College scheme seemed as remote as ever, because, while Jabavu pressed that a beginning should be made with the funds in hand, which were about £15,000, the majority of his co-workers thought it wiser to wait until the original £50,000 should be fully subscribed.

Meantime his son Davidson Don in London completed his degree course at London University, in October 1912 and remained two years longer in accordance with his father's plans to take supplementary courses in Theology, Business, Journalism (Theoretical and Practical) and Education at Birmingham University, during which time he also visited American Negro Schools, principally Booker Washington's world famed Industrial and Agricultural Institute at Tuskegee, Alabama, U. S. A.

Then at the end of January 1913 the Third Convention of the College Scheme met at Bloemfontein, when the far reaching decision was arrived at that a start be made with the College on a small scale, commensurate with the funds in hand.

This gladdened the soul of Tengo Jabavu who now saw visions of the materialisation of his long cherished dream. His heart ran away with him and the dilatoriness and successive postponements of Committee meetings about this time drew forth fiery outbursts from his paper the *Imvo*, which temporarily estranged him from some of his old-time colleagues, the climax being reached about the end of 1914 in a leading article "College Postponements."

In November 1914 the embryo Governing Council met in King William's Town to consider the names of applicants for teaching posts in the prospective College, which was to be conducted as a beginning in the private dwellings at Fort Hare purchased by the Executive Committee. In March 1915 the first appointment was made when his son Davidson Don was the first lecturer to be appointed out of several applications. But a deadlock ensued concerning the Principalship, due entirely to his attitude as he insisted that the Principal must be not an ex-Lovedalian.

But a man who shall be an independent man though working harmoniously with Lovedale, in order to secure

the confidence of other missionary bodies who might be jealous of Lovedale control over the College; and also a professionally trained educationalist, in order to save the College from the tradition of management by purely missionary Principals without previous experience in the management of High Schools or Educational Colleges. An appeal was made to Great Britain to a Committee, who, following on the lines suggested above by Jabavu, made an excellent selection in the person of the first Principal of the Native College, Alexander Kerr M.A. (Edinburgh) who was chosen out of over a hundred aspirants.

Jabavu was the first local man to welcome the new Principal as he landed at East London in October 1915 and had the satisfaction of being a strong personal friend and supporter of the Principal to his dying day.

After this Jabavu became reconciled to all his old friends in the Governing Council, living to witness both the inauguration of the College in February 1916 by General Botha and the opening of its first Educational Building, the majestic "Stewart Hall," by the Rt. Hon F. S. Malan, Minister of Higher Education, and Mrs. Stewart, widow of the revered Dr. James Stewart, after whom the edifice was named.

Among other services he contributed for the benefit of the College the following may be noted:—

He fought successfully in Committee for the admission of women students into the College maintaining that he would sooner dispense with the eighteen men students than refuse the two women applicants. He succeeded in the teeth of strong Committee opposition in reducing the standard of entrance from the Junior Certificate to the P.T.3. Junior in order to ensure that the College should, on the one hand, not be starved of students at the very start, and, on the other hand, that it might have a direct connection with all the existing Native Secondary Institutions.

In his contention for this principle he influenced both the Transkeian Territories General Council (through correspondence with Enoch Mamba) and the Wesleyan Methodist Conference to support him by strong resolutions to that effect.

Through Enoch Mamba he also influenced the Bhunga to disburse the remaining instalment of £2,000 out of the original £10,000, as great opposition had meanwhile arisen from various quarters against its payment. He induced the Wesleyan Methodist Church to transfer its Theological Faculty from Lesseyton to Fort Hare, and thus enlisted the tremendous forces of that aggressive church on the side of the College and paved the way for the co-operation of all religious denominations by means of Residential Hostels within the precincts of the College.

In order to demonstrate how inseparably the origin, conception, propaganda, achievement and direction of the College scheme is associated with our hero we shall recapitulate and enumerate the items of service that make up his contribution to the scheme.

His application to Dale College, which raised a vigorous controversy in the press of the country thus focussing universal attention to the need of a Native College for Higher Education.

His propaganda for this object in his paper, his evidence before the Commission on Native Affairs 1903-1905, and his mandate from Dr. Stewart.

His travels throughout the four States and Crown Colonies in furtherance of the scheme.

His influence that led to the £10,000 vote by the Transkei Bunga towards the foundation of the College.

In the College Scheme Convention he was, along with Rev. J. Henderson, the most stable protagonist of the cause, being responsible for the embodiment in the constitution of several fundamental principles, some of

which he gained only after vehement disputation against influential parties.

The principles are these :—

That the College must be in close proximity to Lovedale (as against Bloemfontein, the Transkei, and Basutoland which were advocated by others) for the three reasons that Lovedale was central for existing Native Institutions; Lovedale was the great and unrivalled pioneer of all Native education; Lovedale people constituted the most interested parties in the movement and would in consequence jealously guard the welfare of the College.

That it must be of University Status, while at the same time including practical work, so that its graduates may find employment in the country by their qualifications.

That it must be equipped for an inter-denominational Faculty of Theology for the higher training of Native Ministers. That a Faculty of Agriculture must form one of its prominent features.

Once started it must stand independently of, though closely co-operating with Lovedale Institution in order to command the confidence of the whole public.

The Selection of a Principal of the type of Professor Alexander Kerr is his work. He also insisted that the College should, in the first instance, open with a set of Lecturers professionally qualified in Education, and if possible fresh from British Universities so that it might be given the romance of a brand new start.

The admission of women students into the College is due to him.

He won his point only after a strenuous struggle, that for a beginning, the College must take in entrants with the P. T. III. qualification instead of Matriculation, lest it be starved of students.

The co-operation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church

which has erected the first denominational hostel for the accommodation of Wesleyan youths.

The Transference of the Wesleyan Theological School from Lesseyton to the College is the result of his work in the Wesleyan Conference and Committees.

In the Conventions he proposed the resolutions that led to the adoption of the name "South African Native College," to the foundation of the Hostels, and the University character of the College.

He introduced the motion that established the Governing Council.

In Xosa he Christened the College "U-Nokoleji."

He organised the "Imbumba" convention which greatly popularised the College movement among the Natives.

He prompted Enoch Mamba to carry through the Transkei Bunga the motion for the payment of the last £2,000 (of the original £10,000) in the teeth of strong opposition by antagonistic Natives.

He served as Joint-Secretary to the College scheme in 1908, acted as member of the deputation that interviewed the Prime Minister J. X. Merriman 1908, gave evidence before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Native Affairs on behalf of the College, and ultimately served in the first Governing Council of the College representing donors of between £5 and £5,000 up to his dying day.

He educated his son up to a degree that qualified him to occupy a responsible position in the College staff.

He placed the columns of his journal at the disposal of the College until it came to be regarded as the official organ of the College.

His attendance at the Governing Council provides a perfect record, for he never missed a single meeting. His counsels always reflected a generous soul, a sober enthusiast, a vigilant trustee, a sagacious intellect,

characterised by unswerving pertinacity and an unmatched understanding of the Native people and their educational needs. He unfailingly threw his enormous influence in support of both the Principal (in whatever capacity his help was needed) and of the Chairman of the Governing Council, Rev. J. Henderson M.A., whom he trusted almost implicitly in his latter years.

It is thus impossible to imagine the Native College realised at all when once we eliminate from its history the share played by our hero. Without exaggeration his contribution to its visualisation, inauguration and prosperity has been beyond human estimation.

*"We have not lost him all; he is not gone
To the dumb herd of them that wholly die;
The beauty of his better self lives on
In minds he touched with fire, in many an eye
He trained to Truth's exact severity."
He was a Teacher; why be grieved for him
Whose living word still stimulates the air?
In endless file shall loving scholars come
The glow of his transmitted touch to share,
And trace his features with an eye less dim
Than ours, whose sense familiar wont makes dumb.*

With regard to his other work for Native education in general, we may here mention the following facts: He taught at Somerset East for five years (1877-1881) where he proved to be a teacher *par excellence*. At Lovedale (1881-1883) he took a number of classes.

He was one of the shining lights of the great Native Educational Association (1877-1895) which had in its enrolment over 100 of the cream of educated Natives of those days, Natives who have not been surpassed by the succeeding generation for educational achievement and influence. In the "*Imvo*" file of 1887 we note among its prominent members: Messrs. P. Tyamzashe,

J. S. Dlakiya, W. Mjokozeli, R. Fini, E. Tsewu, Rev. I. Wauchope, Mr. A. Gontshi, Rev. E. Magaba, Rev. J. J. Jabavu, Rev. E. Makiwane, Rev. P. Mzimba, Rev. Boyce Mama, Mr. J. D. Gulwa, Mr. Paul Xiniwe, Rev. W. Philip, Rev. W. B. Rubusana, Chief N. C. Umhalla, Mr. W. Gqoba, Mr. Ben Sakuba, Rev. C. Lubisi, Mr. P. Sicina, Rev. E. J. Mqoboli, Mr. Daniel Time, and among the subjects they dealt with in their quarterly meetings were :—The Native Franchise, Native Literature, Pass Laws, History of the Native People, Deputations to Government, Drink and Liquor Legislation, Teachers' Salaries, Queen Jubilee Celebrations, and other matters of National importance.

In the Janury meeting 1887, Jabavu was one of a deputation that met Sir Gordon Sprigg and in the discussions on the Transkeian Native Franchise, Liquor Laws, Pass Grievances, he proved more than a match for Sir Gordon, to the huge delight and satisfaction of Natives in general. This is proved by several writers in the "*Invo*" of 2nd March :—one says "O that I had a thousand tongues wherewith to praise thee Jabavu for the excellent stand you made before Sir Gordon Sprigg specially on the Pass Grievances;" another says "You Jabavu have done great service for the Race, you came with the Key and opened the door to Salvation, you deserve praise for standing up against the Persecutor and boldly opposing his injustice;" another burst into poetry the translation of which is: "Jabavu, thou wide-winged eagle, whose right wing covers the races, and whose left wing covered the Pondo people against the Europeans who thought it was only an eagle chick; the bows and arrows of Brownlee shot in vain being broken by the wings until Gordon Sprigg thought it was Goliath's arrow in mistake, for in truth it is the child of an Embo lady."

In 1891 he commenced an evening school at King

Williamstown, which resulted in a great spread of education and religion amongst local Natives, for the ability to read and write caused many to attend the Sunday School and ultimately to join the church.

In 1892 Dr. Thomas Muir became the Superintendent General of Education, a position he held till 1914. He succeeded the great supporter of Native education Sir Langholm Dale (whose Xosa sobriquet was "Ndod'endala"). Some of the most trenchant articles of Jabavu were at the expense of Dr. Muir because the latter began by ignoring Native education, treating it as non-existent in his 1893 report; then in 1896 he propounded unfriendly views on Native education following this by peremptorily stopping whites from mixing with Natives at Lovedale, in education.

In 1897 we find the "*Imvo*" defending Lovedale against the "*Argus*" which supported Dr. Muir's retrograde policy against Native education, which is characterised in the "*Christian Express*" of October 1908 as productive of evil results inflicting undue indignities and degradation from the bullying of inspectors. In the same year Dr. Muir, giving evidence before the Select Committee on Native education, contended that secondary education for Natives was premature, ridiculed the Native College scheme and hampered the Lovedale College department by withdrawing the grants given by his predecessor. In consequence of this anti-Native policy Jabavu sarcastically christened Dr. Muir "Duda Mnyule" in the "*Imvo*."

In King Williamstown he did much to encourage local efforts until he organised in 1918 the Higher Mission School which stands as a memorial to his love of his people in the district of his life's labours.

In the following year 1919 he had the signal honour of being one of four Natives to serve on a Government Commission, the Native Education Commission, presided

over by the new and excellent Superintendent-General of Education, Dr. W. J. Viljoen M.A., Ph.D. He represented the Government Department of Higher Education, this indeed being an epoch making honour, almost incredible and scarcely appreciated by the general public at the time. In this capacity he strongly favoured the introduction of Agriculture and Domestic Science in Native elementary and secondary schools. It was largely due to him that the principle of Free Education for Natives was introduced. This came about in this way : On the Sunday 13th July, previous to the sittings of the Commission in King Williamstown, he called on Headman W. Tshefu at his residence in "Kingsmead," Belstone and prompted him to demonstrate before the Commission the extortionate character of the taxes they were subjected to in the Cis Kei division, even under the head of education alone, and to show that Natives as a whole would be thankful for a simplification of and reduction in the cost of their education by whatever means the Commission could devise. The consequence was that Free Education was the only method by which this hardship on Natives could be alleviated and it was subsequently legalised. This has proved a blessing to the impoverished Natives, for the Education Tax is far cheaper to them than the previous heavy school fees in the Cis-Kei.

Concerning his services in the Commission Dr. Viljoen wired, on Jabavu's death, as follows :—

"His services rendered to education for many years in various capacities are deeply appreciated; I personally remember his invaluable services and sound advice as member of the 1919 Native Education Commission."

In general Jabavu believed firmly in the importance of a liberal education for the few who could act as guides to the multitudes of illiterate Natives in South Africa.

And there is already copious evidence of the justification of this belief of his.

"His wisdom in educational affairs can hardly be matched by any other four individual Natives in this country," so said Rev. E. Makiwane in the *Imvo* when our hero was officially elected member of the Native College Governing Council.

LEGACY TO NATIVE EDUCATION.

THE EDUCATION OF HIS SON

(by Mr. Meshach Pelem, Queenstown.)

It is scarcely twelve months since the cruel hand of death ruthlessly removed from our midst one who, whatever might have been his faults and short-comings in the realm of the practical politics of his country, was not only a great and good man, a brave, zealous and ardent advocate of the cause of his race, but also one who, by his singular example in the exercise of that wonderful philanthropy which Jesus Christ came to preach to the world, played a very important part indeed, in shaping the character, future, and destiny of his race which he so loved, served and tried to save. I mean the late lamented Mr. John Tengo Jabavu, who for nearly half a century never lost an opportunity of speaking for his race. When it was blind and dumb he was its eyes and mouth, and defended it in all matters that affected its welfare and interests. He is chiefly known to the world at large as the editor of the native newspaper "Imvo Zabantsndu" ("The Native Opinion") published at King Williamstown. He has in consequence written more editorials, and conversed with more people through the press than any of his race in this country. A man who will always be remembered and looked upon as a splendid example for the young men of our race, revealing to them what is possible for one who will give himself to constant work and study. Now,

everywhere we look we can see the heavens illuminated with the bow of hope and signs of progress, because John Tengo Jabavu lived and served his generation. He has completed his share of the work, laid the foundation deep, wide and strong, so that we can build upon it and extend the work in every direction. Therefore we can now safely say to him: "Rest from thy labours, for thy works do follow thee." I wish it to be clearly understood by the readers of this article that, although I might incidentally touch upon certain facts that have already been dealt with by the author of this biography, the keynote and burden of this contribution is a desire to express my gratitude and appreciation of what I consider to be a gift or legacy bequeathed to us as a race by the late Tengo Jabavu in the education and training of his son, D. D. T. Jabavu B.A., (London) Lecturer and Professor of Native Languages, South African Native College, Fort Hare. When we come to think of the expense, the number of years, which were spent in the labour of love involved, we cannot help admiring the motives which prompted the sacrifice, especially when we remember the giver's long and noble life of patient service for his country and race. There can be no doubt that when Jabavu contemplated sending his son to Europe for education he must have been thoroughly convinced and satisfied that these were not the times in which it is safe to leave any class of the community without appropriate provision being made for its education, least of all that class upon which depends the entire prosperity of this country. As a man of culture, experience and a student of the history of the world he must have realized that to look for moral results in the absence of moral causes, for honesty, fidelity, industry, sobriety, kindness and self-restraint, where no moral instruction has been imparted, would be as absurd as to expect to reap where we have not sown. He knew that

every nation that has taken any part in the world's progress and development has without exception had its yesterday. And that now that we have also come into contact with Christianity and civilization, we have reached the first stage of our new duties, new obligations, new hopes, new possibilities, new relations to our family, our country, to society and to God. And that under these new conditions it is absolutely essential that the race should have proper guidance under the leadership of men "schooled to moral reflection and to the most complete control,—men who see sermons in stones, books in the running brooks—in every blade of grass—in every tiny dewdrop the unmistakable hands of Deity." To secure this stamp and class of men for the race we must have education for the head, religion for the heart, and integrity for life. The question, what ought to be done for the race under these circumstances forced itself upon the mind of Mr. Japavu and pressed for immediate attention and solution, and he felt that the powerful appeal of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule on behalf of his benighted country-men could no longer be resisted and imprisoned within his bosom and he finally decided to send his son to Europe charged and infused with noble ideas of race redemption. His son went to Europe, and having successfully prosecuted and completed his studies there, returned to the country of his birth where he is engaged in the teaching profession at the Native College, Fort Hare.

CHAPTER IV.

" RELIGION."

Personal Practical Christianity.

A Great Wesleyan Methodist.

Religious Organisation.

The Romans have a proverb that runs thus :—

"Nemo vir magnus sine aliquo afflato divino unquam fuit"

(Nobody has ever been a great man without some inspiration from God).

If this is true of any individual, it is true of Tengo Jabavu. His religious devotion, his absolute trust in God in all his mundane affairs and his mystic love of dwelling with the unseen spiritual forces, saturated his whole life and activity. He continually moved enshrouded by an atmosphere of religion, his outlook on life and affairs being first and last a religious one. His craving for prayer and holding converse with God was insatiable. The morning and evening domestic worship at his residence were regularly occasions of church solemnity, his exercises being of the "good old-time religion" type. He loved also to kneel in prayer under a Mimosa tree in the neighbourhood of his home.

This nature was wholly inherited from his mother and father who, being the sternest Christians of their day, brought up this son of theirs in an uncontaminated religious environment until his eighteenth year, when he was strong enough to stand by himself in many a Sodom and Gomorrah that he afterwards inhabited. Here surely we see the value of a truly religious mother and a pure home life reflected in a family, for the same may be said of his two brothers and two sisters. He read

his Bible from Genesis to Revelation more often and more minutely than most individuals. His scriptural acquaintance enabled him to cite not only verses but passages by heart, whenever it suited him in private conversation and public speech. This he often did in his talk with the present writer. Next to the Bible, the book that guided his life was John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" which, he used to declare, had saved him him time and again from temptation. This book he read over and over again as a young man. In the Lovedale calendar we note that he was a frequent attender of the weekly Prayer Meetings and that he acted as a leader on May 10th and November 8th, 1882, and on 16th May 1883.

His perfect moral life set a high tone in King William's Town; for he led his people by precept and example until he gained respect among Europeans for his moral integrity, in connection with which the "*Ilanga lase Natal*" rightly comments that there "were no whisperings" about Jabavu. He never touched strong drink and was against smoking, being vehemently opposed to both. Mrs. Saul Solomon once had him to dinner at Hampstead (London) and, when he refused wine offered to the guests, she appositely remarked "Tengo Jabavu will never take alcoholic drinks because he loves his people more than his personal pleasure, fights for them by being abstemious himself, and only too well knows the disaster wrought by the white man's drink among his people."

The "*Imvo*" was in consequence not only a political paper but largely a religious journal, because he published in it daily Bible readings and helps for preachers. Religion permeated all his interests and he did not separate it from education. In this way he has been the means of leading many heathen to conversion in his sphere of King William's Town. As an

illustration Richard Mbiko, an effective local preacher, says that the whole of his family, which to-day is Christian, was converted through the agency of Tengo Jabavu, when he conducted his evening School in 1891. He (Mbiko) as a wild heathen renegade was pressed by Jabavu to attend the school, in the teeth of his father's opposition, until he could read and write; next he became converted by Jabavu's preaching and in turn converted his brother and married sisters and their husbands, and finally his mother and father, with the result that his whole neighbourhood was similarly brought to Christianity. Such accounts of the religious work of Jabavu in "King" can easily be multiplied. They form a remarkable object lesson for young Natives who aspire to true leadership among their people whom they loudly profess to love.

This man's religion was profoundly deepened by his meeting with the sect called "The Society of Friends" or "Quakers" when in England in 1909. How he came to meet them is a story he used to narrate with reverence to all his personal friends: He says that about 1902 there called at "*Imvo*" office a man, (Joshua Rowntree,) sent out to South Africa by the *Friends* to examine the condition of all people who had directly suffered through the Boer War (1899-1901). Rowntree, on learning that Jabavu had suffered for his peace principles, having his paper closed down for fourteen months, donated £12 to the journal and subsequently mentioned the incident in a book on his return to England. Now, when the *Friends* learnt that Jabavu was in London in 1909, they demonstrated their sympathy with him as fellow-pacifists, offering him hospitality in several homes. In the course of these visits he came to love the Silent Worship of the Quakers so greatly that on Wednesdays at noons, he actually travelled five miles to attend a twenty-minutes' silent prayer meeting at

DICK, MR. SOL., MVAMBO, DON, WIFE WITH BABY (YATES), MAC, J. T. J., WILSON, 1898.



Bishopsgate at the headquarters of the Society in the heart of London. On his return from those prayer meetings he used to recount with rare glee to his son the spiritual satisfaction he gained from these ministerless religious exercises whose climax was reached when, one day, he witnessed a typical Quaker wedding instead of the usual devotional meeting.

His soul was fired with a new zeal for devotion as a result of this contact with what was to him a new race of religious people. He was enamoured of their simplicity of worship, their loyalty to each other, their consistency in actual Christian life, humility of nature, uncompromising love of peace, opposition to all war, sympathy towards aboriginal subject races, their ready help towards all those who are oppressed, their unequalled guilelessness of character, their absolute sincerity and truthfulness in their dealings with man and God, their urbanity of speech and their success in carrying out a practical Christianity. He often wished to transport these people to his land to be used as a Christian leaven in so-called Christian South Africa. Indeed he endeavoured to induce the *Friends* to come out to South Africa and start an independent Native boarding school to be manned purely by *Friends*, in which should be inculcated their principles. The scheme was already planned and almost got under way but was abandoned in favour of the unexpected materialisation of a larger project, the S. A. Native College at Fort Hare. Subsequently he expressed a desire to join the Society, without deserting Methodism, a desire which was satisfied two years later when he was enrolled during his second visit to England in 1911. Hereafter the affairs of this Society were the nearest thing to his heart. A letter from a *Friend* was to him a cup of water to a thirsty soul in a desert land. To talk to his Native acquaintances about *Friends* was an

antidote to all the ills and woes that so continually dogged his path during the last decade of his life. The thought of his God and his *Friends* rendered him imperturbable to all the cares of the pitiless world. The Society's journal called "*The Friend*" he scanned from cover to cover, advertisements included, often more than once, this being his soul's solace. As if by some supernatural destiny, he appropriately made his last public appearance in the town of King William's Town, only for a few days prior to his death, for the express purpose of greeting two *Friends* from England Mr. W. H. F. Alexander and his wife who were visiting the few scattered members of the Society in South Africa. In his extreme bodily feebleness he showed them round the local Higher Mission School which is his own creation for the benefit of his people, and a monument to his love of Africa's children.

A GREAT WESLEYAN METHODIST.

Born of Wesleyan parents in the historical Wesleyan Mission of 'Healdtown he was baptised by Rev. Henry Impey, a man who was a Quaker prior to his coming out to Africa. He grew up and remained a loyal Wesleyan until he was a class leader and preacher at eighteen in Somerset East and continued until he was member of the first Wesleyan Conference in South Africa in 1883.

He holds several records in this connection :—

He has a larger number of returns as a representative to Conference than any other layman or minister, having been returned without a break until 1913, after which he was forced to miss a few years through the machinations of envious parties.

He lived longest of all the members of the original Conference, hence he was latterly called "Father of Conference."

He was the only member that sat with his son as member of Conference at the same time (Queenstown 1918.)

He figured in more Conference committees than any other Wesleyan, so great was his strength as a Committee man.

He brought forward and passed through Conference more constructive proposals and schemes than any other member.

He was the greatest mediating agent when disruption threatened Conference on Questions that divided Native brethren from European.

Probably no other organisation will miss the service of Tengo Jabavu more than the Wesleyan Conference. In it he had grown to be regarded on all hands as "an Institution."

His suggestions, even if at first opposed, were somehow all adopted ultimately. On account of his earnestness, loyalty and constructive criticism he gained the supreme respect of Conference. He was justly proud of belonging to the Methodist Church, a church rightly described as the most aggressive missionary organisation in South Africa. He appreciated at its true value the great work of Salvation it had wrought for Native heathen people in his land. The present writer remembers his expressions of rapture when, acting as footman to his father, he accompanied Tengo Jabavu on a journey by trap across country in 1902 to attend the Synod at Tsomo. His joy was irrepressible as he surveyed the Transkei villages then almost destitute of all signs of heathendom, where but a decade before every other individual flourished the red blanket and red ochre, the emblems of heathenism.

His voice in Conference carried weight, in both the literal and metaphoric sense, for it was a resonant

mellow deep bass. In the power of debate only two men were reckoned his equals in moving Conference one way or the other, namely, Revs. Ezra Nuttall and James Robb. His discussion was characterised by enthusiasm, logic, dignity, courtesy, conviction and the mysterious potency that issued from a strong personality. He was not eloquent but persuasive.

In the peculiar kind of wisdom and prudence required in Committee administrative work he had few equals anywhere in this country. This is abundantly testified by those who have worked longest with him in Conference Committees and also in the Executive Board and Governing Council of the Fort Hare College. In both those capacities it will be impossible for a long time to fill up the void that he has left behind.

With reference to local Church work in King Williamstown it is difficult to do justice to his contribution, because those best able to estimate the part he played are either dead or incapable of recording a comprehensive summary.

Not half will ever be told of his magnificent services as Circuit Steward for the years from 1884 to 1916, when he kept the mission going, often with his own private funds, at certain times to develop it, at other times to save its very existence from legal sequestration. At one period the mission owed him a great deal, and even now over £200 is due to his estate by Conference. For these sacrifices he received little or no thanks from his people, sacrifices that actually jeopardised his journal and the bread of his children. On the contrary he was ignorantly suspected and openly accused by the more illiterate Church members, of converting Church funds to his own use! These charges were more than once publicly refuted by special Minor Synods who, after investigating the books, discovered that the Church was actually heavily indebted to the

steward. In other respects several permanent church buildings remain to proclaim the measure of his services as a devoted Wesleyan :—

The majestic church edifice, "The Tabernacle," situated on an admirable site in the heart of King Williamstown, alongside of which is the "Hepburn School-room" now used as the Higher Mission School, which was also designed and built through his agency.

Then several churches in the district, notably the one at Emgqwakwebe. Also others which represent real pioneer efforts in previously purely heathen localities, such as Bhonke, at Engqokweni, where he used to labour to convert the "reds," and Ngxwalane, Nqantosi, Ezeleni and Cumakala (Stutterheim.)

In church money contributions he was generous to a fault, surpassing many Europeans who had double his limited income. He gave "until it hurt to give," as a great Imperial politician has aptly put it. Where others put a penny or a "tickey" or sixpence in the offertory he regularly placed a shilling, a florin or half-a-crown; similarly with ticket money, and missionary rallies, even when he could ill afford to do so from the business man's point of view. The great annual Church rally called "Missionary Sunday" or "I-Rona" (from Dutch "Genootschap") was an occasion for his strongest calls for liberal donations, his stock argument being that money or stock given freely here was the best investment any man could make, for God would give back a hundred fold in blessings.

Much as he was devoted to his own denomination, he loved all consecrated Christians in other sects. Just as he idolised Wesleyans of the type of Lamplough, Nuttall, Weaver, Dwane, Mahonga, Mpinda, Ntlabati so did he admire Bishop William Taylor, Bishop Turner, Mark Guy Pearse (whom he went to hear in the English chapel with the present writer in 1896,)

Gwayi Tyamzashe, Makiwane, Wauchope, B. S. Mazwi, and so on. While in London it was a joy to him to hear and meet Dr. Campbell Morgan, Dr. John Clifford, Preb. Webb Peploe. He thought highly of American Methodists who forbade drink and tobacco. One of the moments he greatly prized was when he was asked to attend and address the august General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland in 1911 and to explain the College Scheme to them. When he was sent by Government as member of a committee to plead with the Israelites at Bull Hoek in 1921 he returned full of praise for the thirst of prayer and worship he had observed in the followers of Enoch Mgijima, though he otherwise condemned their transgression of the law of the land.

RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA.

In order to further the cause of religion he devoted many columns at a time, of his paper the *Imvo*, to matters concerning organisation. So thoroughly did he do this that the paper was regarded and spoken of as a "Wesleyan organ," both by friend and by foe. In it the doings of all Wesleyan Synods and Conferences were abundantly advertised. Reports and results of Religious knowledge examinations claimed many columns.

Among other definite things he did for the Wesleyans may be mentioned these :—

The success of the collection of the Twentieth Century Fund among the Natives was helped in no small measure by his journal.

He successfully advocated that this Fund be employed for purposes of higher education, as against other propositions;

He fought hard for the training and maintenance of a large army of Native evangelists, to speed up religious development :

He insisted on the higher education of Native ministers, taking as his model the Presbyterian Church that produced men of the calibre of Sihlali, Makiwane, Bokwe and Mzimba when that Church originally set a high standard of ministerial training.

He opposed secession and division from Europeanised Church on the following grounds:—Native ministers were not yet sufficiently educated to expect success when divorced from intelligent control, as for instance in the case of the Natives of West Africa who had effected their separation in a wise and orderly manner. This question would in the long run solve itself by the products of the Fort Hare College. The greatest danger to Native Church work, he held, was an ill-educated ministry, not the white man! Secession at this stage of development would lose the Native all his hard-earned Church property, as in the case of Mzimba's Presbyterian secession of 1898. Indeed his intolerance and condemnation of new-fangled religious sects organised by insufficiently trained and illiterate Natives brought him no little unpopularity among those churches. And it remains yet to be proved that his policy was wrong in this regard.

It was his pet idea that Fort Hare should concentrate all the religious training schools of the various denominations and weld them into one great Theological Faculty as at Durham University.

He was the most powerful instrument in educating the Wesleyans on the need of employing the Twentieth Century Fund for the foundation of the Wesleyan Hostel at Fort Hare, where Wesleyan students might live in an atmosphere of spiritual environment under their Warden. Indeed he went further and agitated, but without success, for a combined hostel of all Churches.

He worked hard for years for the transference of the Wesleyan Theological Seminary from Lesseyton

to Fort Hare and his joy was unbounded when Rev. E. O. Barratt at length saw his way clear to help him in carrying out this project. The result of course is that this was finally compassed and it was to his great satisfaction that he spent his last three days on earth while attending a committee meeting of this hostel.

For years he agitated in Conference for the establishment of a permanent Conference Missionary Committee which should during the recess carry out the details of the decisions registered at Conference. He lived to see this done and to become one of its first members when he attended its meeting in impaired health at Bloemfontein in 1921.

Similarly did he strive patiently for the setting apart of one minister to act as the executive officer of the Conference Missionary Committee. This too he lived to see accomplished.

It is doubtful if any other Wesleyan individual, white or black, has rendered such far reaching service for his Church by dint of hard personal toil, by money, by his private profession and by the entire weight of his influence.

We conclude this chapter by quoting his speech delivered at the Wesleyan Conference at Cape Town in 1906, when he seconded a resolution by which Conference identified itself with the Native College scheme as recommended by the South African Native Affairs Commission. This is a typical utterance of his, exhibiting a thorough mastery of the historical facts of the movement, an accurate perspective of its policy, and generosity towards other denominational sects :—

Mr. Tengo Jabavu, in seconding the resolution, said that the question was not a new one, for as early as 1882 the Conference considered the subject of the higher education of Natives in connection with the inaugura-

tion of the Twentieth Century Fund. Then it deliberately committed itself in favour of Native higher education. The Natives had, long before, begged and prayed for higher education to be given—not to all of them, of course, but to the five or ten per cent. of their people who were advanced enough to require such education ; and he was glad to think that Conference was among the first of the missionary bodies working among the Natives to acknowledge the necessity for the higher education of the people, and arrange to make provision under the Century Fund. That effort, as they were aware, did not realise expectations, as only a sum amounting to a thousand pounds, was allocated to the higher education of Natives. It has been found that that sum was utterly insufficient, but to be true to the Natives the Conference appointed a committee to devise a scheme for higher education with this amount in hand. This had been found impracticable, and last year a suggestion was made to spend the amount for the higher education in connection with one of their existing training institutions, and an appeal had been suggested for further subscriptions. Then it was hoped that, under the Education Bill which the Government introduced during the last session of the Cape Parliament, under a promise made by the Colonial Secretary to the heads of Missionary institutions which waited on him, something would be done for Native higher education. The Bill was introduced and passed but nothing was done for the Natives. Since the Colonial Secretary's promise, referred to, the South African Native Affairs Commission had reported ; and among its recommendations there was the one embodied in the resolution in favour of one college, to be supported by the various States for that purpose. This they and their friends had taken up, and were working to get the various Governments to give effect to. He was happy to say the Cape Government was most

favourably disposed to the project, and undertook to communicate with other Governments. It was understood that the majority were favourable, and the only one the probable action of which they had any doubt, was Natal. The proposed college, it need scarcely be said, was undenominational, or, as Native education was in the hands of Missionary societies, it would be more correct to say, it would be inter-denominational, provision being made to obviate proselytising, and each Church should be allowed to establish a hostel for its students. The great Presbyterian Church, that had led the van in establishing Lovedale, was once more in the forefront in the effort to realise the Commission's proposals. The London Missionary Society, which carries on its operations in Bechuanaland, had passed a favourable resolution; Anglican Bishops had also given their encouragement, and he hoped that Conference would not be backward in giving the movement its blessing.

So keen had been the desire of some of the Natives for better education that they had sent their sons and daughters abroad, some to America, others to England. This some of them had done against their desires, and they felt it was not desirable that those who had to rough it in South Africa should be sent to the comfort and luxury of other lands. (Cheers). If Africans are to be educated they must and should be educated in their own Country. The resolution proposed was a non-committal one. Under that they did not pledge themselves to every detail of the scheme, and he hoped, therefore, the Conference would carry it unanimously.—

[*South African News*].

“Every noble life leaves the fibre of itself interwoven for ever in the work of the world.”

CHAPTER V.

AN ESTIMATE.

Analysis of his Personality.—

His Style as an Editor.—

“The Best Bantu Patriot.”

ANALYSIS OF HIS PERSONALITY.

As will be seen from his photographs, Tengo Jabavu combined the tallness and broad-outlined features of his burly father with the intelligent mien of his mother. In youth, at the age of eighteen, he looked a virile, comely and noble African gentleman. The square features and piercing leonine gaze bespeak a latent tenacity of purpose. His physique was ample, and, according to Dr. Egan of King Williamstown, his constitution was as perfect and sound as a bell. He revelled in his deep bass voice which, however, militated against him as an orator or preacher. In fact as a leader he won his way not by eloquence but by the irresistible logic of his facts and arguments. Here he was inclined to be stubborn and impatient with opposition when contradicted; for he was so often right that he rode like a steam-roller over those who questioned his position. Hence for thirty years his injunctions had the force of dogma with his fellow men; but thereafter a new and sceptical generation arose and disputed his authority. In his domestic life he was amiability personified, humourous and partial to loud and infectious guffaws in which he regularly indulged at his Sunday dinner table to which he invited many personal friends; for he was generous to a fault with his food and money to his associates and relatives. Like his father he had a remarkable knowledge of individuals; in fact in his heyday he knew more people in South Africa than any

other Native, and he loved his friends dearly. There was absolutely no pride about him. He loved the lowliest and most despicable of his people, taking them seriously and prizing them equal to those in high social status. Humility was the hall-mark by means of which he demonstrated that a good education does not necessarily produce pride. His courtesy never failed and was an object of admiration to the red heathen of his neighbourhood. Not only was he self-denying but he was self-effacing, never pushing himself forward for positions of honour, but working patiently until these were thrust on him according to desert. His memory was tenacious to a remarkable degree. All who have discussed with him witness to this, as does also his evidence before the Native Affairs Select Committee at Cape Town in 1920, his evidence in the Kama Case, and his talks and writings on political events generally. He habitually refused to believe in slander and did not suspect people until he had the charges proved to his satisfaction or reported from reliable sources. On this stereotyped phase of his nature his enemies traded to the full, because they knew he easily trusted people. Many of his losses and troubles came from this unsuspecting trustfulness. Once falsely treated he never forgot nor forgave. He became adamant and impossible to reconcile. Once he detected the wiles of an insidious enemy he was never willing afterwards to move towards a compromise and would not trouble to see any good in faulty men. It is partly this weakness which lost him his long-held leadership. He held no communion with those of an opposite political persuasion. To his antagonists, political and personal, he had no compromise to offer whatsoever. Had he been free from this defect he would probably have maintained his political sway over his people.

By temperament he was cheerful and optimistic,

carrying himself with princely dignity and gravity, averse to studying his problems through minutiae, preferring generalities and broad principles. This attitude and outlook in reality did not save him from mistakes, as we saw in Chapter Two. He carried his gravity into all his ideals, his speech, his gait, his garb, his conduct, his writing and his worship. "There was an unchanging grave dignity about him, which appeared in his speech and demeanour as well as in his writing, and clothed him as a garment" says the *Express*. On this account he consistently declined to enter into the political arena with puny rivals. These challengers in consequence attacked him acrimoniously. But he would not even take the trouble to read their vilifications "for he was a typical respectable Xosa Knight who disdained to drive away barking terriers and spaniels as he walked," as a Native admirer has aptly described him in Xosa.

After the age of fifty he developed, by reason of his sedentary editorial habits, a corpulent and massive stature, and assumed the proportions of an average African potentate. He was then not unlike the Zulu Chief Dinizulu in his appearance of distinction. He combined in his iron frame both physical stamina and mental vivacity. In character he was conscientious, guileless and exemplary, living out his principles of stainless moral purity, and total abstinence from alcoholic beverages, and tobacco. Even his enemies conceded admiration for this example of his before he died. Truly "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin" specially when death approaches a fellow mortal.

Those who sedulously belittled his work for his race are to-day clamant in singing the praises of his model character.

He was an optimist in every sense of the word. Adversity did not overshadow his optimism even when

his opponents used the weapon of racialism against him : "Abandon Jabavu, for he is only a Fingo and is taking you to the Boers" (1899 in the Tembuland election of Sprigg v. Solomon). His true friends (e.g. Wauchope, Bokwe, Songo, Nohako) refused to follow this pernicious slogan and never did abandon him, for they rightly trusted his belief in racial unity. He viewed all things with the eyes of an idealist, possibly an extreme idealist, for his trust in certain people and prospects was sometime belied. Again in his idealism he was sometimes ahead of his times though undoubtedly correct. His sense of honesty and love of truth were so profound that he preferred to "plough the lonely furrow" and lose caste with the rest of the world rather than accept money bribes and work himself falsely into envied positions. Honesty was, with him, truly the best policy. We remember him consoling W. P. Schreiner in Morley's Hotel, London, when the latter despondently thought his career ended through his being honest enough to espouse the Native cause [Union colour-bar agitation 1909] against all people. Jabavu said "Far from ending your career, this agitation will create a reputation for you and a name for conscience in the eyes of your fellow men, when this is over." Sure enough Schreiner was, soon after that, appointed High Commissioner for South Africa. This is but one instance of his penetrating sagacity and prevision in political affairs. In anything he undertook he was an indefatigable worker, never doing things by halves. Indeed he overdid his zeal and did not spare himself, showing a lack of proportion in the distribution of his energy, working for hours and days at tiny calculations (e.g. in his Circuit Steward work) which he could as well have deputed to less important people and save his energy for other tasks which only he could manage. From this point of view however nothing was too small in the service of

the Bantu race; for his zeal and love for his people exceeded such considerations. He truly dedicated all his energy and talents without reserve to the service of his God and his people. Like Wordsworth's "dedicated spirit," his whole mission on earth was discharged with a mystic purpose.

"Even natural disposition, of which we make so much when we speak of heredity, is only a tendency till habit takes it and sets it, and hardens it, and drives it to a settled goal."

HIS STYLE AS AN EDITOR.

With the records all destroyed we are once more at a distinct disadvantage in criticising the literary style of the Editor of the "*Imvo*" because this can scarcely be done without direct citation. From what we remember, he served a long apprenticeship in writing both English and Xosa. He began writing English for public consumption in 1878, while at Somerset East as correspondent to the "*Cape Argus*" and gradually improved when at Lovedale (1881-1884) under the direction of Dr. Stewart, and also at King Williamstown when finishing touches were put on him by Messrs Wm. Hay, R. W. Rose Innes and Dilley, through whose office, (the "*Cape Mercury*,") he published the "*Imvo*." Mr. Innes says "I wrote many of the leading articles—the *Mercury* appeared tri-weekly—and Mr. Jabavu wrote not a few. When we were stuck, I busy with professional duties, and Mr. Dilley in despair, Mr. Jabavu supplied a leader straight off the reel, excellent in matter and style. Few knew of this and I often heard Mr. Jabavu's articles quoted with approval by those who were in ignorance of the authorship." "He proved to be a born editor with a facile trenchant pen in both Xosa and English." Just as one is born a poet and not made, so was Tengo Jabavu an editor and Leader-writer. He

could not write a book nor a long essay on an abstract subject, such as those we have in the "*Christian Express*" files, by Natives like Isaac Wauchope, Elijah Makiwane and others elsewhere. But in his special line, the single column leading article of about 700 words, he was peerless among Natives, his equals among Europeans being only certain University graduates. The question arises, where did he get this style from? We can find no other satisfactory answer than the fact of his wide general reading, the daily perusal of the exchanges with the *Cape Times*, the *Cape Argus*, and English periodicals, all acted upon by an abnormally retentive memory. During the first five years of the *Imvo* (1884-9) he was still more or less feeling his way in English composition, relying much on quotations from contemporaries on which to hang his discussion, as on a peg. Those who know say that his best independent writing is to be found in the years 1889-1915, (just the issues which are untraceable). The file of 1887 which we have accidentally found in his study confirms this. Most of its leaders are mosaically constructed with cuttings from other contemporaries but they sufficiently enable us to summarise his style. The first point about it is that it was free from decorative excrescences. It was plain, clear, idiomatic, incisive in attack, concise in statement, copious in vocabulary, arresting in force, effective in aim and partial to Latin derivatives and polysyllables. He was at his best in polemics, being trenchant, often with a scorpion sting against his adversaries, without rancour but with a relentless onslaught. He revelled in alliterative effects e. g. "Peregrino, in all his peregrinations," "our curtailed and cur-headed rights," "base and baseless fabrication." He was strongest when writing in defence either of ill-used Natives or in clearing himself from false innuendo. In neutral discussion he evinced discernment, suavity, sobriety and a



WITH SECOND WIFE AND DICK, MAC, WILSON,
AND DOROTHY 1908.

high tone, specially on moral questions. He took for his models the *Spectator*, the *Nation*, and the *Manchester Guardian*, all of which he extolled for their sweet reasonableness. His keynote, as he often impressed on the present writer was moderation, moderation, moderation! In Xosa he was heavy, grave, never indecent, always decorous. Except that his style was now and then prolix, his Xosa on the whole was similar to his English in sublimity. Here however he had equals. But, he excelled all Xosa writers in the invention of political terminology, apt sobriquets for illustrious public men and in appropriate nomenclature for epochal events.

Here are a few we recollect out of many now irretrievably lost: i-Nkulu-Mbuso (Prime Minister), I-komfa (Conference), Um-Nyahadala, or I-Ngxwabilili, or Isa-Mbhantlanya so Nyulo (Stupendous Election Campaign), I-Ntlekele ye-Mfazwe (War Cataclysm or the Great War), u-Nokoleji, (mother of Colleges, the S. A. Native College,) u-Mozelisane (Slumber-inducer, the Sleeping Sickness), Isi-Hohela seMendi (the Mendi Catastrophe), Puludyasi (Progressive)u-Sibhabhalala (Mr. Silberbauer), Tsalitoro (Hertzog), u-Duda Simate (Dr. Smartt), u-Duda Mnyule(Dr. muir), Ndod'endala (Dr. Langham Dale), u-Bhubhani (Die ye-Bubonic Plague) u-Tung'umlomo (the Mouth Stitcher, Sprigg's Registration Bill which from the very first Jabavu with wonderful adroitness, named the "Native Disfranchisement Bill" and successfully obliterated its official name, to the deep discomfiture of the then Government) and so on.

His profound commonsense in conducting the policy of his paper raised the reputation of the "*Imvo*" so high that for nearly two generations the utterances of the "*Imvo*" were regarded in Government quarters and highest circles as the truest and most reliable index to Native opinion, notwithstanding the many other new journals that had sprung up in later years and which

commanded a considerable following. Jabavu's pronouncement on any critical question had grown to be regarded as the "Amen" of Native feeling thereon by authorities even in his period of old age (1915-1921). He spared no pains in his endeavour to impart through his paper a truthful reflection of the condition and development of his people. Incidentally, comment on this is made in the *Christian Express* of August 1896, where in a survey of Native development covering quotations from the "*Imvo*" on Native trading, travel and literary progress, it is said that "the weekly issue of the "*Imvo*" shows a very considerable amount of time and effort bestowed on what appears in its columns." For the elevated and conscientious standard of editorship maintained in his paper for thirty years and more, Jabavu can rightly be placed on a par with the foremost editors, white or black, ever produced by South Africa in weekly Journalism. His record in this respect will probably remain unexcelled for many a year to come.

But for the lack of sources, a loss beyond our control, this sub-section would possibly have proved to be one of the most attractive side-lights on our hero. Therefore we make no apology in concluding it with but four quotations of what may be regarded as typical of Tengo Jabavu's style as a writer.

The first, published in 1887, shows an intellectual grasp of political theory with shrewd reasoning, being like a logical syllogism. The second, published on February 21st 1911, is typical of the stalwart fights he always made for his people against any retrograde policy on the part of his local Borough Council. It is headed "King Regulations." The third called "The Mischief-Maker" from the issue of April 11th of the same year, exhibits his jealous protection of the territories of African chiefs. The fourth on Peregrino is a splendid example of his political polemics. These four

must, for the time being, be regarded as specimens of about two thousand Leading Articles that he wrote in his life time.

"WHITES SWAMPED BY THE BLACKS."

"Blacks swamping the whites" is a phrase that haunted one almost everywhere during the passage of the Transkeian Representation Bill last year. We are reminded of it by the Ministerial intimation of the fact in the Governor's speech that some such measure will be embodied in the programme of this session. The cry of the Blacks swamping the Whites was raised by the members of the present Government when they were supporting the abridgement of the rights of our countrymen in the Transkei; and a word or two on the subject may not be out of place. To begin with, the phrase appears to us to be conceived in an unfair spirit. It assumes that the Natives, in matters touching representation, have certain ends to serve, the attainment of which would be detrimental to the interests of the Colonists. We don't think it can justly be said that such is the case. In all cases where Natives have assisted in returning a member to Parliament, they have invariably placed country first and themselves afterwards. Such has been the history of the Native vote on the Frontier, and we believe there is no occult art in the waters of the Kei that will operate on the other side to produce exactly opposite results there. There is not the slightest foundation, except perhaps in the fears, themselves groundless, for the assumption that Natives will start candidates radically opposed to the rights of the Europeans if representation be ungrudgingly granted to the Transkei. It is always complained that at Victoria East the Natives swamped the Europeans at the last general election. The contrary is the fact. There were then in that constituency four hundred

Europeans as against two hundred Natives. How could the minority swamp the majority? The worst the Natives did on that occasion was this—they outgeneralled the Europeans to save the constituency from having two ineffective representatives in Parliament.

Moreover, it seems to us that a mean advantage is being taken of the privileges of the Natives under the same cry. Suppose our people were to concede the point of the swamping. What of that? The Transkei is essentially a Native Territory, just as much as the Western Districts are virtually Dutch. As well, then, might the English say to the Western districts: “Your voting powers should be crippled so as not to swamp us English, who form the minority.” And this could be urged with a show of reason in respect of the West, where the Bond have succeeded in boycotting the Free of the English and Dutch extraction in the matter of representation. Has such species of boycotting been practised by the Natives? Certainly not. Our people know that a selfish policy—such as finds favour with the Bond—has never yet made a strong, progressive, and united state. But no one dreams of curtailing the voting powers of the Bond Party, because they dragoon the Free party. The Transkeian Natives are not so childish as to set themselves against the Whites only for contrariety’s sake, and they may be depended upon to elect members whose views will be fair and satisfactory towards all sections of the community; and we see no obstacles in the way of the whites in the Transkei co-operating with them on these lines.

June 8, 1887.

KING REGULATIONS.

King Williamstown at this time of day is still forging regulations wherewith to torture the Natives. We notice

that the Town Council was, the other day, considering Native and Asiatic Regulations, as amended by the Government Health Department, with the view to have them promulgated. The principal one, it would appear from the comments of the local paper, is that relating to the barbarous "curfew." We are told that "under the regulations the 'curfew' system will be re-introduced, and the town will be closed to Natives, except under certain conditions, between the hours of 10 p.m. and 4 a.m." The regulation is copied from the antediluvian code of WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR on his invasion of England. Its drastic effect has burnt itself into the soul of the English race so deeply that if they desire to oppress any subject race they at once resort to the curfew. And yet, in exculpation of the CONQUEROR it may be said that he had justification in the warlike circumstances of the land; and to this day the military, in times of war, are obliged to resurrect the curfew to distinguish between the defenders and aggressors. With them it is a measure of defence not defiance. We are well aware that the curfew, as aimed at our people, is an institution in several towns in this country. It is the remains of the times of the conquest and rebellions, between whites and blacks, now long past and, we hope and pray, never to return. Such being the case then it passes our comprehension to understand why the memory of ignoble strife and animosities between the various members of the community should thus be perpetuated in regulations of this sort. Native and Asiatic affairs, under the Act of Union are wisely and well, specifically reserved to the Union Government. It seems to us that it is high time, on the inauguration of Union, for the Minister of Native Affairs to make representations to those Municipalities which continue to penalise the Natives with this draconian regulation, to reconsider the situation, with the view to repealing or withdrawing it

where the requirements of law and order do not call for it; and the authorities appear to be sensible of the injustice that is aimed at the Natives in Kingwilliamstown, in proviso that "three months' notice of the Council's intention to enforce this particular regulation will have to be given—to whom, deponent sayeth not—before it can come into operation." In a town like Kingwilliamstown where no proper residential arrangements are made for the Natives, as in Grahamstown Queenstown and elsewhere, and Natives congregate in their masters' back yards, it is difficult to see how much a regulation can work, even were it otherwise feasible. These are points well worthy of the earnest consideration of the Minister of Native Affairs when the matter is submitted to him as it is bound to be at the proper time. We have long considered the curfew regulation as nothing more nor less than an engine of oppression in the hands of ill-disposed persons towards Natives.

21st February 1911.

THE MISCHIEF-MAKER.

Our old friend, the Unionist scaremonger, has been at it again. In past years it was his wont to involve the Natives with the Government by false reports of risings in the newspapers, which were accepted in a panic by a Ministry in office selected from his side, and war or rebellion was the result. A situation such as exists at present in the Territories by reason of the East Coast Fever, and the measures Government is adopting to stamp it out, suffices to give the alarmist his opportunity to concoct a circumstantial story, which those of his view readily believe, and steps are

taken to complicate matters. An expedition is arranged, and the Native Chief and people are scared away into the Bush, and the report is that they are fighting, and what was required is achieved. For at the bottom your average Unionist is a Jingo. Some such attempt was started simultaneously in the *Cape Argus* and in the *Cape Times* last week. First a rumour was published in one journal, to be supplemented by a circumstantial account of incipient trouble in Pondoland. Luckily for the Natives we have a cool, calculating Ministry with a lynx-eyed Minister of Native Affairs. The evil intended was nipped in the bud by a statesmanlike statement in Parliament, cheered by Ministerialists, but received with a dubious silence by Unionists. But the statement by MR. BURTON, which is reproduced elsewhere disposed of the conspiracy and dumbfounded the conspirators. The incident should, however, show our people how necessary it is that everyone should co-operate with the Government in every effort it is putting forward to limit the scope of, and to cope with, the evil. In General BOTHA, the Natives have a practical farmer, bent on saving every animal he can, and they recognised what shooting there may be is had recourse to as a last resort to save the many even at the inconvenience of a few.

11 April, 1911

UNINFORMED ZEAL.

FROM "IMVO" 3th DECEMBER, 1907.

"F. Z. S. Peregrino, Editor *S.A. Spectator*," has contributed a column of matter to the European newspapers in the Eastern Districts "to call the attention of the Native and Coloured voters to the unparalleled impor-

tance of the forthcoming election." He at once plunges into a long and uninteresting disquisition, on how Federation should be conducted, in which it would be profitless, at this stage of the discussion, to follow him. But the sting of the contribution, as that of the scorpion, is in its tail. It consists of bolstering up the cause of an *effete* Party, which has been tried and found wanting, and is so ashamed of its past record that it has resorted to the despicable expedient of changing its name.

"There is a tendency," so writes our mentor, "among certain of the Coloured people to trust to the kindly consideration, charity, and strong sense of justice claimed by the Bond or South African party. So gross a reduction of Native intelligence to childlike faith in step-motherly love is iniquitous. It asks for blind acceptance in one version of a political purpose which, in the other States, where the Bond brotherhood prevails, has reduced a portion of the people to political slavery. Unionists and Independents have records of another class, and it is, therefore, to their ranks that we must look for a prospect of the political sincerity and political justice which will carry out the points insisted upon."

Now, we are very glad that the writer, from the inaccessible heights of political theory, condescends to deal with political "records." For it is precisely on "records" of politicians that the issue is joined. And coming to political "records" we must, in the first place, turn to the record of the exalted personage who comes down to lecture to us on the political "records" of South African politicians. He is himself not a native of South Africa at all. If we are not misinformed he is a comparatively recent arrival from the United States, after having been many years in England, to which he proceeded earlier from the West Coast of Africa. Natives of South Africa are asked to believe that in all these peregrinations "F. Z. S. Peregrino, Editor *S.A. Spectator*," has specially

kept himself so informed of the "records" of Cape politicians that at this critical time Natives must throw up to the four winds of heaven the confidence in certain politicians, born of long experience, dating from the times of Sir John Molteno, Mr. W. Porter, Mr. Saul Solomon and others, and follow his advice! To borrow his simile "so gross a reduction of Native intelligence to child-like faith in step-motherly love would be iniquitous."

If our monitor had, in his "record" researches, gone back to the times of crises for the Natives of this country—and read the records of Sir John Molteno's Ministry (of which Mr. Merriman was a member), the first administration under Responsible Government which was notoriously benevolent and sympathetic towards our people, and then come to the boisterous times for the Natives of the first Sprigg Ministry, the political forbears of the politicians whom he is recommending us to follow; if he were to read the Native Disarmament debates of 1880, the Select Committee Reports of the Tembuland Settlement by Mr. Sauer (1882), and also ponder the stupendous political stroke by the same gentleman, of the retrocession of Basutoland; if he were to take up the Cape Hansard of 1887, and read the great debates on Native Disfranchisement, noting the stand taken by Mr. Merriman and Mr. Sauer, and compare it with that of the men he is advocating to-day; lastly, if he were to read Mr. Sauer's evidence on native policy before the Native Affairs Commission, as late as 1904; and if, on the other hand, he had reflected that it was Lord Milner, the leader of the Progressives throughout South Africa, who inserted in the Vereeniging terms, the obnoxious 8th Clause, which barred the Natives and Coloureds from simple rights of representation as tax-payers; and that in the Colony of Natal, where Progressives or their friends hold undisputed sway, the

Native is held in virtual slavery—if, we say, he had borne all this in mind, he would realise what pestiferous nonsense he was inflicting on the well-informed among the Natives of South Africa; and would, moreover, readily admit that in his advocacy of the party he was championing he had allowed his zeal to out-run discretion.

“THE BEST BANTU PATRIOT.”

Outside of the excellent eulogy of Mr. R. W. Rose-Innes, the finest obituary notice of our hero is to be found in the “*Christian Express*” of October 1, 1921. Its concluding sentence runs thus: “His removal has left the Native people bereaved of the man who was perhaps the best patriot their race has yet produced.”

This estimate can be taken as authentic for the author thereof, as we happen to be privileged to know, was more intimately acquainted with Tengo Jabavu than most Europeans, having been in close connection with him in public affairs for nearly twenty years, during which time he sometimes violently disagreed with his views. As such he is therefore qualified to form an unbiassed judgment.

Booker Washington somewhere in his books says that one definite fact of achievement by a black man does more to raise his prestige than any quantity of argumentation about the equality of white and black. In the same way Jabavu’s character and actual achievements, which we have here endeavoured to narrate though only imperfectly and inadequately, speak for themselves more effectively than any portraiture possible from a pen. His strongest enemies must concede that he was the greatest pioneer our people ever had, the true Moses of the Bantu. This chorus is increased by a large number of the worthiest Europeans of this

country who include the Rt. Hon. Gen. J. C. Smuts, Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. F. S. Malan, Rt. Hon. J. X. Merriman, Mr. Percy A. Molteno, Dr. J. W. Viljoen, Rev. A. J. Lennard, Inspector W. P. Bond M. A., and many more throughout the length and breadth of this country.

They realise, as unprejudiced observers, that no other individual of the Bantu race has by his permanent and verifiable deeds benefitted so large a number of his people. He was the best interpreter of Native aspirations to the Europeans, as also the truest interpreter of European statecraft to the Natives.

He was the ideal balancer of race-adjustment, striving for the best for all races, discountenancing foolish action and the extravagant language of extremists.

The gifts with which he was endowed were the rare ones of imagination, vision, ideals and a life purpose.

As a prophet he stood among his people as did Peter the Great in Russia and Booker Washington, "the builder of a civilisation" among American Negroes.

From the Cape to the Zambesi no single Native African has, for so long as he did, attracted the attention, drawn the admiration, compelled the respect of white and black alike and commanded the ear of Government and the European press.

His achievements are sure to survive long after the memory of many of his contemporaries is dead, buried, and forgotten, because he was one of the finest Bantu teachers, one of the sincerest Bantu Christians, one of the most devoted Christian workers, one of the purest Bantu characters in moral integrity, the most sagacious editor and judicious wielder of the English and Xosa languages, his peoples' most enlightened political leader, their most assiduous educationist, the

greatest defender of his chiefs and their lands, of his people and their liberties, and indeed the best patriot the race has yet produced.

Languor is not in your heart,
Weakness is not in your word,
Weariness not on your brow.
Ye alight in our van ! at your voice,
Panic, despair, flee away.
Ye more through the ranks, recall
The stragglers, refresh the outworn,
Praise, re-inspire the brave !
Order, courage, return.
Eyes rekindling, and prayers,
Follow your steps a'ye 90.
Ye fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line,
Establish, continue our march
On, to the bound of the waste,
On, to the City of God.

**FURTHER EXPRESSIONS
OF CONDOLENCE
AND
APPRECIATION.**

FURTHER EXPRESSIONS OF CONDOLENCE AND
APPRECIATION:—

Mr. Percy A. Molteno, M. P. (London):—I was extremely sorry to learn from your letter that your honoured father had passed away. I regret very much that he should have been cut off at such a comparatively early age, and that his ripe experience has been lost to you and his family, to the Natives of South Africa, and to the country as a whole. There are few who can take his place, if any.

I was greatly impressed when I met him, and I valued very much his sound and sane judgement of things, his moderation of feeling on subjects which might provoke the expression of intense feelings, if the latter were not well controlled.

He did great service not only to the race from whom he sprang, but to the whole community, both white and black, for he was a link between them, and enabled each to understand something of the nature, feelings and interests of the other.

His writings were always actuated by the highest principles of honour and of truth. I esteemed it a great privilege to make his acquaintance when he was visiting this country, and to receive him in my house at Parklands, when we had a profoundly interesting talk on many things.

I trust that it will be found possible to continue one of his works, viz., the publishing and editing of "*Imvo*" the interests of which he always had so much at heart.

Your father was much appreciated, and the good work he has done will not only be never forgotten, but will have effects which will conduce for good for generations to come.

Senator Dr. A. W. Roberts (Native Affairs Commission.) He filled a unique place in the affairs of the

land. His grave and sane judgment, his calm and steadfast outlook on the events of his own day, his sure faith in his own people, his uprightness of character, his deep spiritual mindedness lifted him from out of the ordinary ranks of men and made him a leader of his people.

To him was given to be a pioneer and guide in the many movements upwards that have marked the history of the Bantu race during the past forty years. And in all his endeavour and striving in this direction he was ever the true patriot, thinking much of the good he might secure for others, and little of the gain for himself. For he was the most modest of men.

His life was a very full one and singularly consistent, and this consistency of conduct and integrity of character secured for him the esteem and regard of all those with whom he came in contact.

J. A. Sishuba:—I cannot help feeling the irreparable loss this country has sustained by Mr. Jabavu's death. I doubt if we will soon be able to have one who is fitted to take his place. Our grand old man, the greatest leader of his people of the present time—a great statesman, a true Christian—a patriot who never thought about himself but his people who were always in his heart. As one who had the privilege of being under his feet during the last thirty-four years of his public life, I cannot help saying that he had been the "Moses" of the Native people of South Africa or a Hofmeyr of the South African Natives. He roused the Native people of South Africa from their slumber and ignorance in the politics of their country—in fact he educated and led them to take interest in the affairs of their own country and be able to form their various opinions on the questions that come before the country. Some turned to be his worst opponents but they still

reckon with and respect him. We have lost him—we we have lost him when he was most needed—he had lived a strenuous life— his Master rightly gave him the deserved rest from his labour, with the merited “ well done thou worthy and faithful servant.”

D. S. Makohliso (translation):—He was a veritable Moses of his race. But to-day his opponents had overwhelmed him because once he became influential the whites hob-nobbed with him, with the result that his people avoided him. Therefore you who have taken his place must beware of that and not serve two masters. Also he chose to dictate for others to follow instead of supporting the views of his people. In those two respects he has taught you a lesson.

The Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister:—The name of Tengo Jabavu is a household word throughout South Africa,—and indeed, beyond, wherever interest is felt in the well-being of the Natives of this country.

The sanity of his outlook and integrity of character commanded respect, while his ability as a man and skill as a journalist compelled admiration.

He will be mourned alike by his own people to whose advancement and welfare he devoted his time and talents and by their European well-wishers amongst whom I subscribe myself.

The Rt. Hon. F. S. Malan, (Minister of Mines and Industries):—Your esteemed father, was a good friend of South Africa, and more particularly of his own people, and his loss will be felt by many thousands who have known him and who have learned to appreciate his many excellent qualities. May his example and the spirit of his work long endure to the benefit of those for whom he so unceasingly laboured.



IN LONDON (WITH DON) ON THE COLOUR BAR
DEPUTATION, 1909.



Rev. B. S. Mazwi:—

(Translation.) Mr. J. Tengo Jabavu was, in God's providence, supremely equipped with political sagacity founded on his splendid character as a Christian and patriot. He discerned that Sprigg's policy was contrary to British ideals and that the true Britishers were the Moltenos, Solomons, Scanlen, Sauer, Merriman, Innes, Schreiner, and other names which prove that he was not mistaken. He was a genius in marshalling the forces of Native voters in election campaigns. It is not true that he was a coward and a weak man, as some allege; the opposite is the case for he had a great courage of conviction, maintaining his views even as against the world and his best friends. He had a remarkable gift of prophecy in politics, social and educational affairs. Among his greatest achievements are his destruction of Sprigg's Native Disfranchisement Bill (which was an outcome of the anti-Native spirit of the 1820 Settlers). The Glen Grey lands dispute and its settlement by him; his fight for Native chiefs and their lands: Sigcau, Dalindyebo, Le Fleur, Transkei. A new Native paper appeared in 1897 under the name "Izwi Labantu" which unfortunately worked for disruption among Natives supporting the capitalists Rhodes, Dr. Jameson, Dr. Smartt, openly fighting *Imvo* and the friends of Natives, Sauer and Merriman, on the pretext that they were misleaders, Bond, and Dutch, eternal enemies of justice! That paper died out. Its principles have been falsified by the event for Dr. Smartt has ultimately allied himself to Jabavu's Boers. Jabavu did not support the Boers *qua* Boers, but all men in all races who desired the ends of justice.

Mr. Jabavu was truly the greatest Bantu statesman that has yet lived.

Prof Alexander Kerr. (Principal, S. A. Native College, Fort Hare.)

I should like briefly to add my tribute to those that have already been paid to the late Editor of 'IMVO.'

Something has been said of his lifelong interest in Education and, as we know, that was almost a passion with him and found an outlook in many directions. But I think it will be agreed that the project which lay nearest to his heart was the South African Native College. Those who worked with him during the lean years from 1906 to 1916, when public opinion had to be satisfied that there was a real need for an Institution for the Higher Education of Natives, know that his courage never failed. He had a vast capacity for patience; he did not fume or fret if what he wished did not follow on the heels of his desire; he waited; and sooner or later he saw what he wanted accomplished. His success in this policy was due, I presume, to the fact that he was weather-wise: he knew how to interpret the signs of the times and he did not spend himself or others in crying for the moon. There were certain things that for him were practical politics and others that were still in the region of aspiration. While he did not under-value aspiration, he knew as well as any statesman when there was a fair prospect of realising his aim.

Once the College was started and he was elected to a seat on the Governing Council, he was able by his education and by his knowledge of constitutional procedure, and by experience of committees to take his due share in the discussions, and on many occasions to offer advice from the Native standpoint which was of real value in helping to determine the policy of the Council. I remember at one of the meetings held just before the College was opened, an application for admission from two women students was being considered. I was rather unwilling to accept these as we were working with very make-shift accommodation for the

men and, as far as I could see, we had no room whatever for women. But Mr. Jabavu pled so earnestly for these women and condemned so emphatically the policy of educating men without taking the women along with them, that I promised to make some shift to take them in so that as a result of that, at the College here we have had women students since our first day. This discussion remains in my memory as one which enabled the College, right at the start, to adopt a principle which the more I see of Native life the more appears to me to be justified.

On another occasion Mr. Jabavu stood for something which has fallen naturally within our sphere of operation I refer to the establishment of Training Centres for the Native Ministry at the College. Again, at the first view of it, the proposal did not commend itself to me and others because we did not see how it was possible to have at the Hostels and within the bounds of the College, bodies which should be subject to a Church rather than to the Governing Body of the College.

The matter was referred to a Committee composed of Dr. Henderson, Canon Wyche, the late Rev. E. O. Barrett and myself, and though none of us saw a clear way and some, as Mr. Barrett was, were at first unfavourable, before we rose we had worked out a scheme by which it was possible to have these theological students at Fort Hare and under the general College discipline while receiving instruction from a Tutor appointed by their own Church. The immediate result of these negotiations was the descision of the Wesleyan Conference to close its Theological Institution at Lesseyton and transfer its students to Fort Hare where they share in the general life of the College. The United Free Church of Scotland Mission made a similar change so that all the Theological work of these important Churches is concentrated at the College. A develop-

ment such as this may amount to much in years to come and I put a large share of it to the credit of Mr. Tengo Jabavu.

There things, I think, the Native people should know, so that among the younger men other leaders may be raised up of adequate education, of sufficient breadth of mind and patience of spirit to supply the place of those who have laid down the work. In the six years that I served with Mr. Jabavu on the Council of the College, I can recall numberless instances when I was indebted to him for counsel. If we differed from each other, we differed in charity. He was among the first to welcome me when I stepped off the steamer at East London and I was privileged to be with him when he died. I shall never forget the Christian kindness of his nature and his self devotion to the education of his own people.

Rev. B. J. Ross :—

(Translation.) In the Lovedale Literary Society he was an eloquent debater full of thought-stirring ideas due to his omnivorous reading in the library. He was a real student, full of love for books, for the truth, deep thoughts and a passion for acquaintance with the world's best thought. He was worthy of leadership, honour, trust and emulation. He was a man with vision, an ideal, and a purpose in life.

Rev. J. W. Househam (President of the Wesleyans 1923)

Ever since I first knew him in the eighties I have had a profound admiration for his character as a Christian, and for his sterling qualities as a man. He was a fine type of a leader of his people, aggressive without being an extremist, persistent without being overbearing. His conduct as editor of "IMVO" stamped him as a writer of great force and ability. Several years ago I remember Mr. John X. Merriman stating in the Legis-

lative Assembly that among the few leader writers in South Africa capable of controlling and forming public opinion the name of Tengo Jabavu stood high. This was a striking testimony from such a man.

He has lived his days; he has done his work; and in the hands of Providence he has been instrumental in moulding the thought and mind of the Native races of this country to an extent that can be said of few of his contemporaries. He has passed away, but his name will live and his influence will continue. We thank God for his life and work.

Mr. S. Sopela.

(Translation.) He was my friend and classmate at Healdtown from 1874 till he left and I have always prized him in his work thereafter. "During his lifetime he was the guiding star of the whole nation." [Mr. Sopela has also supplied the major part of the details that are the basis for Chapter I].

Rev. D. Malgas.

(Translation.) Among the educated man of our race I have not found any to equal Mr. Jabavu in excellence of work. It is extremely rare for one man to achieve the success he has in both material and spiritual work. He is an example worthy of imitation by our Native young men.

Mr. Theodore Ndwandwa.

(Translation.) I first knew him as a baby born at Healdtown when I was a citizen of Zigigaba and then through all his life ever since. He married my sister's daughter. In parliament all the members of his choice proved excellent and by virtue of his paper he was a suitable leader from the point of view of both Europeans and Natives.

Mr. T. G. Nqandela.

(Translation.) His courage beggared description, specially in politics where he opened the path as a pioneer. He was a hard hitter against opponents, his pen leaving damaging effects on any antagonist. He stuck to his opinion even if it involved personal loss, notably in the Boer War and in the Native College scheme. He was self-effacing in all his achievements and courteous to a fault to Europeans, his reason being "to kill the elephant you must first allure him by cajolery." This was misinterpreted by some as abject servility to Europeans. "Should the College Scheme fail, my health would break down," he once said to me, "that is why I adhere so closely to these Lovedale Scotch friends; they have always been liberal with education, and it is a sound education that will really uplift our people."

Mr. W. P. Bond. (Inspector of Schools.—) He was a man peculiarly chivalrous and kind, and a true patriot. We who knew him well never ceased to admire his wisdom, wit, intellect and deep religious feeling. His courtesy was simple and touching, and he asked for no reward except the consciousness of having helped his own race to face their future and to become Christian. His death at this juncture is a heavy loss to South Africa at large, and to the Native races in particular.

Rev. J. Pendlebury.

(Wesleyan Warden, Fort Hare.) He served the Church almost in every office that a Native layman can occupy, and was deeply interested in the evangelization of his own people, frequently urging in Conference the establishment of a Missionary Committee for the effective oversight of this importpant part of our Church's work.

Methodist Churchman.

Mr. Alfred F. Fox. He was a true lover of peace, and during the South African War his advocacy of views similar to those expressed by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman caused somewhat acute differences with some of his friends.

When in England in 1909, he came into contact with various members of the Society of Friends, especially at Street and at Hampstead, and attended some of our meetings for worship. The views of the Society, particularly in regard to peace and war, and the simplicity of our mode of worship, strongly appealed to him, and he applied to Westminster and Longford Monthly Meeting for admission as a member, an application which was acceded to in May, 1912. Friends who met him at that time will recall how simply and sincerely he joined in our worship and how welcome a place our dark-skinned brother had among us.

The British "Friend"

The Comet, Maseru:—He was the leader of Native opinion and it seems to us that all Natives had confidence in him. As time went on there cropped out among the following generations a class of young men who, as it is always the case, disputed his leadership and opposed him and under-mined to some extent his influence.

These young men would not submit to the leadership of the experienced journalist and regarded him as old fashioned and always siding *with the Government*. On the contrary Mr. Jabavu had been a leader all along and was used to leading and would therefore not allow himself to be led, more especially by those who had not gained as much experience as he had, whom he looked upon as hotheads and extremists. In many cases where he stood in opposition to the young leaders he was in the right. As an instance we shall refer to the Natives Land Act 1913 of which the S. A. N. N. Congress sent a deputation to England to pray His

Majesty the king to veto it before it was enforced as it would oppress the Natives. Mr. Jabavu was not a member of the Congress and he stood in opposition, on the ground that it was useless to send a deputation to request His Majesty to veto a law which nobody knew whether it would oppress the Natives or not. It was awkward. The delegates of the Congress went oversea but returned unsuccessful. But notwithstanding his experience and foresight in political affairs he lost many followers and his influence in later years was somewhat diminished. We do not mean that he lost the leadership but that instead of leading all as he used to do he only led a section of that whole.

It seems to us that the old journalist and leader of the Natives lacked a very important thing which is essential to a successful leader:—conciliation with his opponents. He appears to have taken great pleasure in heckling and defeating his antagonist and ending there. As to winning an adversary to his side by persuasive language or by reconciliation it seems to us, that he cared very little. which thing may be assigned as the reason for the decrease of his influence in his later days.

Mr. Jabavu will always be remembered with admiration and esteem as having played the foremost part in the social advancement of his people and as having set an indisputable example to the world of the efficiency of the Native of South Africa to attain to any level of civilization. His paper the "Imvo" which he edited until his last days, will remain the monument of his ability and firm determination.

Such was the man whose death we mourn. A strange personality in whom were combined several endowments rarely found in many people.

POEMS.

The following are paraphrased versions from the most original poetry on John Tengo Jabavu that we could find.

This appears in the *Imvo* of 2nd March, 1887, by
"Henry K.M."

"Jabavu, thou wide-winged eagle, covering all races with the one wing and with the left the Pondo people; whites guessed that it was a chick but were wrong for it was a horned cock; in vain did Brownlee and others aim, for their arrows were broken by thy wings, till Sprigg thought it was a Goliath; but they were all wrong for it was the child of an Um-Mbo lady."

"P. M. J. S." in "Imvo" 29th August, 1911:—

"This is a giant, slanting shaped man, bent with the horn, inwardly matured like water-melon; great lion, that eats up others, appear and others vanish, great general!"

An Anonymous poet in the same number:—

"Go ahead thou swarthy son of Jabavu, with voice like thunder, whose voice reverberates to the ends of the world, till we mistake thee for the prophet who reconciled irreconcilable races; thou sable son of Africa, thou buffalo!"

J. Ntsiko :—("Hadi")

"Thou stalwart of Don's home, ebony black and unwashable with soap or blue; By thee do the daughters of the Jili clan swear, 'By Tengo' they joke, "By Jabavu" they are serious."

M. Galela :—

"Thou strider in the white man's court, turning up scorpion stones, bleeder of the Attorney-General. This dog bit for two-score years and it remained vicious to its last day."

The number of condolence communications reached two hundred and fifty, coming in the form of wires, wreaths, letters, standing votes, personal notes, sermons by ministers (such as Rev. Sigonyela Kakaza, Rev. Coke Mji), resolutions from Church bodies, Quarterly meetings and True Templar organisations, as well as obituary appreciations from the Press: "The Cape Argus;" "Umteteli wa Bantu;" "The African World;" "Ilangalase Natal;" "Abantu-Batho;" "The Methodist Churchman;" the "Friend" of Great Britain; "The Comet."

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